

THE RÁJOPÁKHYÁN

OR

HISTORY

OF

KOOCH BEHAR,

BY

MOONSHI JĀDUNATH GHOSE.



TRANSLATED BY

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PREFACE.

I prostrate myself countless times, O spiritual teacher, at thy lily-feet whose honey, like the eye-salve that opens eyes blinded by the darkness of ignorance, gives knowledge to men, and which I ceaselessly contemplate within the thousand-petalled lily of my heart. I prostrate myself before the lily-feet of Siva pitiful to the poor, readily pleased, and before the lily-feet of the daughter of the King of the mountains, creator of the universe, possessed of the three qualities (creative, preservative, destructive). I prostrate myself many times at the feet of all Brahmans, gods of the earth, the visible gods, devoted to the worship of Náráyan.

King Harendra Náráyan, a king of kings, descended from the race of Siva, and ruler of the country called Behar, is high and noble-minded, unrivalled in charity and honour, in true qualities, in contemplation, family, disposition and strength, in prowess, valour, endurance, and gravity, skilled in war and military science, and morals and manners; peaceable, self-restrained, full of learning, meekness, wise judgment, distinguished for all kingly marks and for kingly behaviour, protector of those who seek refuge in him, peerless in beauty, and like a sun to

burn up all his enemies. The history of his ancestors is wonderful ; to hear it will result in advantage both temporal and eternal. All the sons of Siva who have been kings have been like Ganesh. Kali Chandra Lahiri, the chief of the king's counsellors, possessed of all great qualities, worthy of all praise, in council like Brihaspati in the assembly of the gods, or like Vashishtha in the assembly of Raghnath, having summoned me to him, said : " The fame of the heroes of the solar and lunar races at the close of the Dwápar Yoga is recorded in the Maha Puráns and other books : an epitome of the history of the kings of the race of Siva is given in the Yogini Tantra. These kings have flourished, and will continue to flourish, in each Kali Yoga of the world's existence. The books narrating the deeds of the kings of the present Kali Yoga, mentioned in the Yogini Tantra, are almost all lost. Moreover, the old order of Bráhmans and men learned in the Shastras is now extinct : in all probability the accounts of these kings will henceforward be forgotten. Many cannot now tell the order in which the kings succeeded one another, how long they reigned, what their number was, and how many generations there have been of Siva's descendants. It is very desirable that you who have obtained information from the most learned Pandit in the Council of the great king Nara Narain and from

the *Rajkhanda* written by Kabiratna in the reign of king Pran Narain, and from the accounts of several other kings written by those who were acquainted with these records, and who have discussed the facts connected with the history of the kings with king Upendra Narain's counsellors, should, seeing that you have moreover reached mature years and may have but a short time to live, construct a history after the manner of the Tantras, in which may be preserved in order the records of these kings."

Then I replied, "I am not a learned man, and I am not able to write either prose or poetry. In the royal palace there are learned men equal to Sukrachariya, and the king himself is a poet as great as Bákpati. For me therefore to write such a book would be like stringing pearls on a hempen thread, or like the fastening together of precious stones by means of solder."

He then rejoined: "Write your history in the same chronological order as that in which we have the early records of the kings in the Gouriya language."

Accordingly, at the advice of the great minister I undertook the history of the kings who had descended from Siva. To write of the birth of Heera Debi, and of the great king Bishwa Singha, is the work of a god: twelve chapters are so occupied, and they embrace the divine period. Twenty-

one chapters are occupied with the history of the kings from Nara Narain to the restoration of king Dhairjendra Narain : these embrace the human period. Eighteen chapters are taken up with the reign of Maharaja Harendra Narain, the events of which are now transpiring before us : this is the contemporary period. Completing my task in 51 chapters, I have entitled the book "Rájopá-khyán." Let me enumerate the kings that sprang from Mahadev (Siva). After Mahadev, the compassionater of the world, came his son Maharaja Bishwa Singha (1) ; then, his son, Maharaja Nara Narain (2) ; then his son Maharaja Lakshmi Narain (3) ; then his son Gossain Mahi Narain (4) ; then his son Jagat Narain Konwar (5) ; then his son Maharaja Roop Narain (6) ; then his son Kharga Narain Dewan Deo (7) ; then his son Maharaja Dhairjendra Narain (8) ; and then his son Maharaja Harendra Narain Bhupa Bahadur (9). These nine kings were descended from Siva. Listen now to the number of kings sprung from Siva's son, Maharaja Bishwa Singha. First, there was Maharaja Bishwa Singha (1) ; his son Maharaja Nara Narain (2) ; his son Maharaja Lakshmi Narain (3) ; his son Maharaja Beer Narain (4) ; his son Maharaja Pran Narain (5) ; his son Maharaja Mod Narain (6) ; his brother Maharaja Bosu Deb Narain (7) ; his brother's grandson Maharaja Mahendra Narain

(8); his old paternal great-grandfather Maharaja Lakshmi Narain's great grandson Maharaja Roop Narain (9); his son Maharaja Upendra Narain (10); his son Maharaja Debendra Narain (11); his grandfather Maharaja Roop Narain's grandson Maharaja Dhairjendra Narain (12); in our own times, his eldest brother Maharaja Rajendra Narain (13); his brother Maharaja Dhairjendra Narain's son Maharaja Dharendra Narain (14); and a second time, Maharaja Dhairjendra Narain's son Sri Sri Maharaja Harendra Narain (15). The present history (Rájopákhyán) embraces an account of these fifteen kings. My request to readers and listeners is, that they will not stop to enquire whether this book is written in prose or in verse, but will only consider the wonderful history therein contained: but if any one should desire to construct ballads out of it or turn it into a poem, my request is that he will associate my name with his in the authorship, in order that hearers may have confidence in the history. Accordingly I introduce myself as Sri Joy Nath Ghose, a native of Bengal, and of the Kayast caste. The king having conferred on me the title of Moonshi, people call me Joy Nath Moonshi.



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HISTORY
OF
K O O C H · B E · H A R.

PART I.
THE DIVINE PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

*Conversation between Siva and Párvati, as given in the
thirteenth section of the Yogini Tantra.*

Bhagavati reverentially approaching Sri Bhagaván, and with folded hands, thus addresses him : “ O great god of gods, thou art ever beyond the conception of Bírínchi (Brahmá) and the other gods. How many saints, through long periods, have sought thee, but in vain, by their austerities ! But now that thou art constantly visiting the house of Heerá Kochni of Kochni-pára in the disguise of a beggar, tell me, How beautiful is this Heerá Kochni, and what are the austerities by which she so easily obtained thee ? ”

Mahádev laughing, made answer to Bhagavati : “ O Maheswari, the world was created by thee, and all nature is but a part of thyself : what is there with which thou art unacquainted ? What is there that

thou dost not know ? The question, therefore, which thou hast put me in joke, I will answer seriously. In former times, thou, with countless Yoginis and their companions, didst hold dalliance with me in the mango-grove : I need not refer further to the circumstance. At that time a certain Yogīni, MádHAVI by name, not content with my embraces, for a long while practised the severest austerities in the hope of having me as her husband. Depriving herself of sleep and food, she became well nigh bereft of her senses. When the period of her penances came to a close, a BráHman begging alms from hunger, arrived at the place, and sought charity from her. MádHAVI absorbed in her own thoughts, neither heard him nor gave him answer, nor offered the hungry BráHman alms. On this he, being enraged, cursed her saying, ‘May you be a Mlechcha,’ that is, a Kochni. Then MádHAVI, in her distress and fear, reverentially besought the BráHman, saying, ‘I am a weak and ignorant woman, and have undergone prolonged austerities in vain : look on me ‘with pity, my lord.’ The BráHman being appeased, replied : ‘Sorrow not, MádHAVI. Your austerities shall not be fruitless. You shall obtain birth in the Koch family, and shall have Mahádev for a husband. He is Ashootosh (easily pleased), and he will be gracious to you. None who devote themselves to Mahádev, do so in vain.’ O Párvati, this MádHAVI having in course of time been born on the Chikná mountain in Kámroop, has become the Kochni named Heorá. I went to her in the disguise of a beggar, and bestowed upon her the reward of her

austerities, thus fulfilling her desire. How shall I describe her beauty to thee ! She is very beautiful. Moreover, because she has obtained this birth, it does not follow that she had no previous birth, or that she will have no future births ; for in every Kali Yoga to the end of time, she will, in virtue of Bishishta's curse, receive birth on the Chiknā mountain in Kámroop. She shall give birth to a mighty son called Vishnu, who being known as Mahárájá Bishwa Singha, shall subjugate Kámroop and Soumár and Pancha Gour and shall reign as king over this section of the country. This Bishwa Singha and his sons who succeed him as kings, shall live and enjoy themselves in the neighbourhood of Mount Kailás. They shall have many wives, and the very daughters of the gods desiring to be united to them, shall receive birth in India that they may become the wives of the kings descended from Bishwa Singha. The kings shall all dally, like Bhairab, with these women. Rájá Bishwa Singha shall have many sons. All of them shall be mighty men, addicted to war. Though their language be vile, they themselves shall be very learned, and most devoted to the gods. O daughter of the mountain, Heerá is like Jáyá, the mother of Nandi, among the Yoginis, and Bishwa Singha is like Vhringi, Bijáyá's son, among the sons. At the close of the Kali Yoga, Bishwa Singha will betake himself to a life of asceticism. Heerá and Bishwa Singha and the kings that shall be descended from him shall, at the end of time, attain absorption."

CHAPTER II.

Conversation between Śiva and Párvati continued.

“O Ashootosh, I am greatly delighted to hear the story of the devoted Heerā and of the birth of Bishwa Singha. Heerā is one with myself, and Bishwa Singha is my son. And now tell me, for I long to hear, of the greatness of Kámroop, as it is the dowry I received from Himálaya.”

Mahádev replied : “Kámroop is a sacred place, and its greatness is recorded in the Yoginī* Tantra and Káli Purán, &c. How should men feel in regard to the place where the very gods desire to die ! In Mount Teniláchal, there is a cave dedicated to love’s desire, in which there stands a huge image of red stone. He that beholds it is deprived of the second birth. There thou art ever present, and Jalpeeswar (Mahádev) himself recreates himself in Kampeeth. Round about there, are caves and peeths (spots consecrated to Párvati) and other sacred places. There are many holy spots in Kampeeth, which it would be impossible to enumerate. Within the country between the Karatoyá river and the Dikkar Básiṇi, there are four peeths,—the Bhadrapeeth, the Ratnapeeth, the Kampceeth and the Shoumarpeeth. All the mountains of that region are connected with the Himalayan chain, and in them many rivers take their rise. The great river Brahmaputra stretching across this region, falls into the southern sea

* This book is quoted by the deity before it was compiled !

(Bay of Bengal). The Dhawalá, the Trishrotá, the Jatodá, the Gharghará, the Swarnakosh and other rivers that rise in these mountains, have waters as holy as those of the Ganges. There are various cities also in this region. Prágjotishpur and Ratnapceeth, otherwise called Kámtápurí, (Gossainemaree,) are places where Jalpeeswar carried on his dalliances (*behar*), and hence the name Behar. Behar is a fertile region. Every dwelling is an abode for thee : it is a place that incites to pleasure."

Then Bhagavati said : " Heera Kochui ! What is the origin of ' Koch,' my lord ?"

Mahadev, smiling, replied : " Parsurám, the son of Yamadagni Muni, took the country seven times during the Satya Yoga. Its mighty kings, Beerjya and others, were all destroyed. Some of the people escaping for their lives, settled in Kampeeth, where they degenerated in manners, and their minds became contracted (*sangkoochit*) ; so that whenever they were asked concerning themselves, they replied, ' We are Sangkoch.' This is the origin of the word ' Koch.' But those Cooch people were not a mongrel race ; for, in the first place, they were Kshetriyas who had fled from battle, and in the second place, they had only degenerated in manners. This was how they fell to this low estate. Such then, are the Cooch people : they are not a vile race. They belong to the Kshetriya caste, which is second only to that of the Brahmans."

Bhagavati asked : " Who is to be king of Kam-roop ?"

. Mahádev made reply : “ Between Pragjotishpur near the Niláchal mountain, and Kampeeth on the west of the Swarnakosh river, there is a place called Ratnapeeth on the northern bank of the Jatodá : there is the capital. Long ago, there was a king named Narak, the son of the White Boar by Prithibee. He was king of Kámroop. Being slain at Dwárká by Krishna, his son Bhagadatta became king. After his family became extinct, Bánáshur became king. In this way, after many kings have died, king Narak, under the influence of Vashishthá's curse, will again be born at Kámtápur, and will reign under the name of Kamateswar, and subdue many kingdoms to himself. On his death, anarchy will, for a period, prevail. At length the goddess Heerá, part of thyself, will bring forth a son named Bishwa Singha, who being a mighty hero will, by the power of his arm, subdue Kámroop, and Soumár, and Pancha Gour, and Tibet. When he has made himself famous, and has reigned some time, he will adopt the life of an ascetic. Then when Bishwa Singha's son Nara Náráyan, whose name begins with N, and his son Lukshmi Náráyan, whose name begins with L, and his son Beer Náráyan, whose name begins with B, and his son Prán Náráyan, whose name begins with Pr, and his son Mod Náráyan, whose name begins with M, have died, one line of his descendants will have become extinct, and the order of succession from father to son will cease. Thenceforward, the country will be ruled by inferior descendants, that is to say, the king's brother and the brother's son and their family will reign. Then the

sons. born to the kings of their wedded queens, will be short-lived. Indeed, the kings will adopt the practice of the Sudras, who have two kinds of wives, the one married, the other unmarried. These latter are treated as wives, but their sons are held to be of inferior descent." In this way, Bishwa Singha's descendants are still alive.*"

CHAPTER III.

Early History of Heerá Devi.

Just as Janméjaí Rájá, on hearing the history of his ancestors, was released from this evil world and attained the salvation of the future world, so he who listens to the story of the forefathers of the Ruler [of Kooch Behar], will be freed from sin in this life, and be blessed in the life to come. Let me tell the story as far as my knowledge of it goes.

According to the Yoginí Tantra, in each Kali Yoga, the goddess Heerá has been born and in due course has died. In this Kalpa† of (Vishnu) the White Boar, there are fourteen manwantaras,‡ of which the present manwantara, named Baibaswata, is the seventh. Each manwantara is divided into seventy-one

* This last passage is evidently one of the Moonshée's comments.

† The grand period of creation and destruction.

‡ The reign of a Manu, equal to 71 ages of the gods, and 306,720,000 years of mortals.

celestial Yogas. Of these, twenty-seven have already expired, and of the twenty-eight celestial Yogas, the three Yogas, Satya, Tretá and Dwápara have passed. During this Kali Yoga, Rájá Kamateswur died, after having greatly extended his dominions. The forts and other defences erected by him, exist to the present day, as well as the lakes and tanks he excavated, and the stone and brick palaces he built. For nearly three hundred years after his death, Kampecth was without a king; but after the expiration of the 4581st year of the Kali Yoga, the goddess Heera was born in the house of a Koch on Mount Chikná. On her birth, the earth brought forth grain abundantly, the kine yielded abundance of milk, the trees were laden with fruits and flowers; the clouds dispensed their rain in due season, and the people devoted themselves to religion. The goddess Heerá began to grow like the waxing moon. At eight years of age, she and her sister Jeerá were married to a man living in Mount Chikná, named Háryá Mech, otherwise Hari Dás. He built a beautiful temple for Heerá, and another one for Jeerá. Jeerá was of age when she married, and in course of time she gave birth to two sons, the elder of whom was called Chandan, and the younger Madan. Heerá, when she came of age, recollecting her former successive births, was constantly engaged in contemplating the lily-feet of Mahádev. She was accustomed, early every morning, on awaking from sleep, to go to the mountain side, and bathe and dip herself in the river there. On the bank of the river there was a temple of Burá

Buri. Here she gathered wild flowers and bál leaves, and in company with Párvatí, offered worship to Mahádev, and gave herself to the contemplation of him. Hari Dás used to visit her at her house, but he had no offspring by her. Nevertheless, he loved her greatly, and spoke kindly to her. But Heerá was lonely and fretful and wretched on account of the absence of Mahádev. Her one thought was that of Siva: when would Bhagawán pity her? "Alas," she used to think, "Is it likely that this Trailokya Náth will deign to touch me with his lily-feet, who have but human form and always am unclean?" At times too, she comforted herself with the thought that as Mahádev was Ashootosh, easily propitiated, he must look favourably on her who was so devoted to him.

CHAPTER IV.

Mahádev visits the Kochnipara.

When Heera was fourteen years of age, Mahádev being stirred in mind at the thought of his separation from Mádhavi, set out as a mendicant to look for her in Kochnipará. As he dismounted from the white bull on which he rode, the tawny matted locks which hung down his back, swayed from side to side, and emitted the murmur of Gunga's waters. About his loins he wore a tiger skin, which he secured by means of the folds of Básuki, the king of the serpents, which wrapping itself around him, lifted its hood above

his right shoulder and hissed at intervals. His fair body was besmeared with the ashes of the funeral pyre ; his throat was beautiful like a sapphire, and he wore a necklace of bones ; in his left hand he carried a horn, and in his right a tabor ; his beggar's wallet hung from his shoulders ; his eyes were red and dreamy owing to indulgence in hemp and the flower of the dhaturá ; flames of fire darted from the eye in his forehead ; and giving forth the " bom-bom " from his inflated cheeks as he struck them with his fingers, he directed his steps to the Kochni quarter. As he blew his horn the Kochnis, old and young, all crowded out and surrounded him. Some gave him rice ; some brought dhatura flowers and placed them behind his ears ; some, fetching young twigs, fed the bull with them ; some brought him dry bháng leaves ; some cried out, " Oh Yogi, sound your horn again : we have never heard sound like that of your horn ; " and others said, " Oh old man, let us hear the ' bom-bom ' again, and we will give you more rice."

One Kochni, whose child lay in a swoon, brought it in her arms and said, " Oh Yogi, give this child some medicine." Mahadev glanced at it, and immediately the child revived and began to play. The Kochnis, on seeing this, were astonished, and, being delighted, said, " Oh Yogi, come hither every day, and we will give you liberal supplies of rice and bháng and dhaturá." So Mahadev kept constantly going to the Kochni quarter.

CHAPTER V.

Mahádev visits Heerá Devi.

One day, at an auspicious evening hour, Mahádev visited the house of Heerá Devi, and found her standing in the yard, and a peacock with out-spread tail dancing before her. At the door there grew a bokul tree over whose flowers the bees were humming: the koel was also cooing in its branches. It was a delightful spot. Mahádev arriving on his bull under the shadow of the tree, said, "Oh beautiful one, give me alms." Heera immediately produced some rice on a clean plate; but Mahádev smiling said, "It is not rice that I want. I am stirred with the vision of your beauty: give me your love." Heerá, on this, hung down her head and covered her face, saying, "Oh old Yogi, have you been an ascetic so long and undertaken so many pilgrimages, and now would you forfeit all the merit you have gained, by marrying another man's wife? I am a married woman. If the Governor were to hear of this, he would snatch away your old bull and burn up your beggar's wallet, and disgrace you. Here! take a little more rice and be off." Mahádev replied: "Oh moon-faced one, I have practised asceticisms, and have come to recompense you for yours: stretch forth your hand and draw me out of this sea of love." The conviction darted into Heerá Devi's mind that this was "Ashootosh Sabáshiva," who was able to assume any form. She, therefore, laughing replied, "Oh old man,

I know you are not a Yogi : you are Yogoeswar. Your beard is white ; your teeth rattle with every breeze ; you are besmeared with funeral ashes ; there is a garland of bones around your neck ; your waist is wrapped round with a tiger's skin : all these things are unlucky. Go, seek some Yogini old like yourself." Mahádev made answer : " These things, so far from being unlucky, are fortunate."

In repartee of this kind the time passed until the sun set. When Haridás returned from the city, Mahadev, to Heerá's astonishment, disappeared. She spread a seat for Haridás, and brought him betel. Haridás said, " Oh Heerá, I hear that there is an old Yogi who comes begging to the Kochni quarter, whose blessing, wherever he confers it, is invariably realized. Ask him to give you a son : perhaps he will be propitious." Heerá accepted the permission, and Haridás returned to Jeerá's house.

CHAPTER VI.

Birth of Heerá's sons, Shishu and Bishu.

When Haridás retired to Jeerá's house, Heerá was restless owing to the sudden disappearance of the Yogi. She sat down, she rose up ; now she was in the house, and now outside, and looking all around. She was distressed at not seeing Mahádev, and kept crying out " Shiva, Shiva." Sadáshiva, knowing the desire of his devoted worshipper, assumed an attractive

form. and appeared at the gate. At sight of him, Heerá prostrated herself on the ground, and then conducted him to her couch. Henceforward, Mahádev who still frequented the Kochni quarter, became a constant visitor at Heerá Devi's. In course of time, Heerá gave birth to a son, and Mahádev looking at it, said that the child would be beautiful. He spoke of it as "Shishu" (infant child); hence it received the name of Shishu. Heerá once again became pregnant. At this time, Mahádev used occasionally to sit and talk to her of the Yoga philosophy, and this was how Bishwa Singha, whilst in his mother's womb, learnt the doctrine of the Yoga. After ten months and ten days, in the year 1422 Shakábdá, corresponding with the Bengali year 907, at the vernal equinox, Heerá Devi gave birth to a son beautiful as the full moon. Immediately as he was born, the heavens began to rain down flowers, the air was filled with the sound of drums, and the inhabitants of Mount Chikná were all astonished to hear of the good fortune of Heerá in whose house so wonderful a child had been born. They assembled together and began to shout for joy.

Then said Mahádev: "You have had born to you a son who will conquer the world (Bishwa); let him be named *Bishwa Singha*, for he shall be like a lion in the world."

Heerá replied: "Give me some other name, soft-sounding like Shishu, instead of this Bishwa Singha, which it is difficult for women to pronounce."

Mahádev, smiling, made answer: "Then let his other name be Bishu."

. Thus Heerá Devi nurtured and brought up her two sons, Shishu and Bishu. When the children grew up, they went into the fields every day to play with the other Koch children, and returned home at night.

CHAPTER VII.

Early exploits of Heerá's sons.

One day, when Bishu was seven years old, being fatigued with play, he lay asleep under the shade of a tree. The heat of the sun brought on perspiration. The rest of the children were at some distance. Just then, a huge serpent approached, and with its expanded hood screened the child's head from the sun. When Bishu awoke from sleep, the serpent withdrew into the woods. On his return home, he described all that had happened to his mother; but she kept perfectly silent. On another occasion, Bishu returned from the fields with a tiger's cub, and giving it to his mother said: "Mother, when it has grown big, I will play with it." Heerá Devi replied: "It is the young of a hurtful animal; let it go." Then he let the tiger's cub go. Another day, when he had gone with the rest of the children to the fields, suddenly an elephant, huge as a mountain, and having two tremendous tusks, made its appearance. At sight of it, the children fled in all directions; but Bishu advancing towards it, seized its trunk, and resting his right foot on one of the tusks, planted his left foot on its head, and so seated himself on its neck. He then

brought it to his mother, calling out, "Mother, I have seized an elephant: it is very pleasant to ride an elephant." Heerá Devi being greatly astonished, came forward and called Bishwa Singha to her, saying: "Get off the elephant, my child, and come to my arms. Only kings have a right to ride on elephants: you are but the son of a sorrowful woman, and your father is a beggar." At this, Bishu leapt off and came to his mother's arms. The elephant, after standing quietly for a moment, returned to the woods. Bishu then asked his mother, "Mother, cannot I become a king?" Heerá replied: "If you can by your devotions propitiate Nagendra Nandinee, the divine queen, you may become a king."

That same night, Heerá Devi, as she sat rubbing the feet of Mahádev, said: "My lord, your two sons are for ever seizing hurtful animals, and one cannot tell when they may not be destroyed." She then went on to tell of the serpent, and the tiger's cub, and the elephant, and asked, "Will they, because they are your sons, be protected from the dangers of the woods?" Mahádev replied: "Tell them to bring away whatever they may find in the woods to-morrow." On the following morning, when Shishu and Bishu went out to play, Heerá Devi said: "Bring away with you whatever you may find in the woods to-day." An ape was seen by the brothers in the woods where the children had gone to play. The two brothers chased it, and after a good deal of trouble, Bishwa Singha succeeded in destroying it with a club. After this, as he was wandering along the river-bank, he saw a snake float-

ing past. Swimming to it and bringing it away, the two brothers cut up both snake and monkey, and roasted and ate them. When they returned home, Heerá Devi asked: "What did you find in the fields to-day?" They made answer: "We found a monkey and a snake, and being hungry, we cooked and ate them." Heerá Devi desired them to fetch away whatever had been left uneaten, and, accordingly the two brothers brought the heads of the snake and monkey, their bones, skin, &c., and placed them in the house. At night, Mahádev asked Heerá what her sons had found; and she told him. Mahádev, after being silent* for a while, replied: "They cannot be kings of the whole earth. They cut up the animals into pieces (khanda). Bishwa Singha will only be Khandeswar, that is, king of a part of the earth."

From that day, Bishwa Singha became absorbed in the contemplation of Bhagavati. Having, whilst yet in his mother's womb, learnt the Yoga philosophy from Shiva, he became a devotee, and wherever he could get flowers and fruits, he brought them as an offering to Bhagavati; and even when he was at play with the other children, he used to make images of Bhagavati, and worship them with sacrifices.

CHAPTER VIII.

Shishu and Bishu escape to the mountain on the death of one of their play-mates, and Bishu has a dream.

One day in the year 1432 Shakábdá, that is, the Bengali year 917, when Bishwa Singha was nine years old, Shishu and Bishu together with Chandan and Madan having met for play along with thirteen Koch boys of their neighbourhood, named Bághá, Tengná, Pánábar, &c., planted in the ground the dried bamboo sticks that were in their hands, and Bishu, the dried thorn stick that was in his hand. They then made an image of Bhagavati, and bringing flowers and wild fruits, began to worship the image, some dancing, and some singing. Then, to represent the offering of sacrifice, some of the boys were seized as if they were goats, and others struck at them with swords made of spike-shaped leaves. When Shishu seized one of his comrades, pretending to sacrifice him as a goat, Bishu struck the blow with his leaf sword; but the blow actually severed the boy's head from his body, and the blood began to flow. Bishwa Singha seizing the severed head and placing it on his own head, then laid it before the image of Bhagavati. The rest of the children seeing that Shishu and Bishu had actually slain one of their companions, fled in dismay. Shishu and Bishu after reflecting for awhile, and being themselves overcome with fear, ascended by the mountain-path to the top of the mountain. The rest of the child-

ren had now got back to their homes, and had spread the news of what had happened. In course of time, the Turka Kotwal of the eight villages on Mount Chikná and elsewhere, hearing the news, sent out officers requiring them to bring the boys, Shishu and Bishu, to him immediately, adding: "I must have their heads taken off in order to calm the grief of the dead child's parents." The officers went in search of the lads to Heerá Devi's house and sundry other places, and Heerá Devi meanwhile began to weep in her distress and say: "The night is at hand; if the two boys remain out in the woods they will be destroyed by wild beasts, and if they return home, the governor will seize them. What are they to do? O Sadáshiva, deliverer out of distresses, save them." When at night Mahádev came to her, she placed his lily-feet upon her head and began to weep. Mahádev said with a smile: "No one will be able to destroy your boys. Bishwa Singha will to-morrow be a divinely anointed king. Do not be anxious." At this, Heerá Devi became calm.

The boys in the darkness of the night, greatly distressed by both hunger and thirst, lay down with fearful hearts at the foot of a tree and fell asleep. Towards morning, Bishu had a dream, in which Mahádev came to him and said: "Arise, child, do not fear. Go back to the spot where you were worshipping the goddess. Bhagavati has accepted your worship and your great sacrifice, and is propitious. The dried bamboo and thorn sticks that you planted in the ground, have given forth branches

and leaves. Bhagavati gives you a bracelet for your arm, and a sharp sword. Your royal prosperity will remain undisturbed, so long as this bracelet remains in your house and that of your sons. When you go into battle with this sword, you will overcome your enemies. It will never be broken. If you seat yourself, after you have bathed, on the throne that has been made of fallen leaves, you will receive your divine anointing. If, holding over your head as an umbrella the basket in which I keep my bháng, Shishu puts the royal mark on your forehead, you will become a king, and Shishya Singha a Ráikat.* Placing the serpent which is in my basket on your head, you will wrap it round in white cloth. The serpent's hood will become a white umbrella; with the tail and bones, &c. of the serpent you will construct a circular throne to be called the chakbálish (round cushion). You will make a silver monkey, and transfer to it the head and bones of the monkey you slew, and you will then fix it to the top of your sceptre, which shall be called the Hanumán sceptre. Royalty is not complete without the umbrella and sceptre. Whenever you go to war, the enemy, at sight of your umbrella and sceptre, will perish, and you will be victorious.

* Head of the family, and hereditary chief minister.

CHAPTER IX.

Bishu's anointing as king.

Bishu awaking at dawn of day, and arousing Shishu said: "Come, let us go and become kings." Shishu answered: "What are you talking about?" Bishu then told him his dream, and the two brothers set out for the spot where they had offered worship the day before. On their arrival, they found that the dry thorn stick and bamboo twigs had blossomed. The spot was very delightful; the air was filled with the perfume of flowers; and the trees were blossoming and bearing fruit. The decayed leaves had collected together at the foot of the Mainá tree, in the shape of a king's throne, on which rested a splendid sword. By its side was a jewelled bracelet and the bháng basket. Seeing this, the lads were delighted, and went to the river to bathe. On their return, Bishu received his anointing the moment he arrived at the throne. He heard the muntrás, and the water was sprinkled upon him. He knew not who was performing the ceremony, for he could see no one. Then Shishu, observing that in that place there was some paste, already prepared, of musk, aloes, and sandal-wood dust, he made with it the royal mark on Bishu's forehead, and filling the bháng basket with leaves, placed it on his head. Immediately the skies began to rain down flowers, and the drums began to sound; and the harlots of Indra's heaven began to dance and sing. All this could

be distinctly heard, but nothing could be seen. Just at this time, Chandan and Madan and the children of the neighbourhood coming to the spot, were struck with astonishment, and supposed that thousands of elephants, horses, and soldiers were in the neighbourhood making a noise together. The children all prostrated themselves with folded hands.

Thus Mahārāja Bishwa Singha received divine anointing to the kingly office. When Bhagavati rested at the withered thorn stick, it blossomed into leaves. Hence, up to the present time, the kings of Bishwa Singha's race plant a thorn stick to test the efficacy of their worship of the goddess. And as Bhagavati was propitiated by a human sacrifice, so the former kings of Cooch Behar offered human sacrifices every autumn, during the festival of this goddess. And even at the present time, it is the practice of these kings and of others who follow their example, to offer up representations of men made with rice formed into a paste.

CHAPTER X.

Defeat of the Kotwal's troops, Chandan is raised to the throne, and Kámrup is subjugated.

Mahārāja Bishwa Singha having received his royal anointing, and Shishya Singha having become a Ráikat, they took what they had with them and went to Heerá Devi. Heerá kissed both her sons in her delight. She detected the perfume on Bishwa's head. At sight

of the jewelled bracelet she prostrated herself before Bhagavati, and then put it carefully away. As the lads were hungry, she brought them choice food.

At this time the officers of the Kotwal were still out in all directions, trying to find Mahárájá Bishwa Singha and Shishya Singha Ráikat. Under orders from Bishwa Singha, Chandan and Madan and the other boys, seizing swords and sticks, went out to battle with the Kotwal's men, and cut off the heads of twenty-one of them. The remaining officers escaping to the Kotwal, told him what had happened. He being highly incensed, 'mounted his horse, and taking a thousand soldiers with him, set forth to slay the children. Surrounding Chandan and Madan and the rest, he, in the first engagement, cut off Madan's head. No sooner was the circumstance reported to Mahárájá Bishwa Singha, than he seized the sword that had been given him by Bhagavati, and taking his elder brother, the Ráikat, with him, sallied forth to battle. The Kotwal's soldiers, when they beheld the two brothers looking as threatening as death, were overcome with fear. The Kotwal ordered them to seize the two lads and strike off their heads with the sword. But the brothers advancing, slew with their swords the front line of soldiers. And thus they went on till hundreds of the soldiers were killed. Chandan and the other boys were, in the meantime, also engaged in the slaughter of the soldiers. At this juncture, the Kotwal pushed forwards on horseback and made towards Bishwa Singha to slay him. Bishwa Singha seeing this, sprang towards him, and with his

left hand quickly seizing the horse's reins, struck off the Kotwal's head with the sword in his right hand. He then mounted the horse, and routed the remaining soldiers, some of whom fled and others delivered themselves up to him.

Returning home to his mother with his own party and the soldiers that had surrendered to him, he saluted her and his step-mother. Jeerá, folding Bishwa Singha in her arms, began to weep for Madan. Bishwa Singha spoke words of comfort to her, and then taking Chandan by the hand, he led him to the outer door, and giving him another throne and umbrella, made him a king. But he undertook himself the government of the country. Just as in Mathura, Bhagwán Chandra slew Kangsa, and raising Ugrasen to the throne, saved the kingdom, so Bishwa Singha, having slain the Kotwal, raised Chandan to the throne, and saved the kingdom. All the people approved of what he had done. The Rájshaká dates from this time; Chandan having become king in the year 1 of the Rájshaká, which corresponds with the year 1432 Shakábdá, the Bengali year 917, the year 921 of the Hegira, and the English year 1510. The Kotwal's horse, elephants, and weapons were all brought away.

• On the death of Rájá Kámateswar, Kámpeeth was thrown into a state of anarchy. One man ruled over one village, another over two or three others: some ruled over five villages, and others over ten. Bishwa Singha summoning these petty rulers to him, made them independent. Whenever any of them misbehaved, he was put down by means of a few troops, and Bishwa Singha

punished with death any one guilty of rapine or other serious offence. In this way he governed the kingdom. The people were in fear, and brought in not only the revenue due, but numerous gifts and presents. Thus Kámrup became entirely subject to him. The former governor was not a Mussulman; but people used to say that he destroyed the Yavanas. His family lived apart. He had three daughters, who were married to Chandan, Shishya Singha Ráikat, and Mahárájá Bishwa Singha respectively. After the lapse of thirteen years, Chandan who had reached his fortieth year, fell ill and died, having reigned for thirteen years.

CHAPTER XI.

On Chandan's death, Bishwa Singha ascends the throne, and conquers Bootan and Gour.

After Chandan's death, in the 14th year of the Ráj-shaká, corresponding with the year 1445 Shakábdá, and the Bengali year 934, Mahárájá Bishwa Singha, as directed in his dream by Mahádev, constructed a royal cushion, or throne, out of the serpent's tail, and placing on his head the serpent that was in the bháng-basket, he wrapped it round in folds of cloth. Putting the monkey's bones, &c., into the silver image of the monkey, he fixed the latter to the top of his sceptre, and so made a Hanumán-sceptre. Then, on an auspicious day, and under an auspicious sign, he, being 22 years of age, ascended the throne. Shishu held the

umbrella over him; and the brahmans repeated their incantations from the Vedás, and took their seats around him. There was a brilliant assembly on the occasion. The subjects all brought in the royal tribute, and presents of various kinds; dancers danced and sang; and there was instrumental music of various sorts. Mahárájá Bishwa Singha bestowed horses, elephants, garments, money, and other rewards on Shishya Singha Ráikat, and on his ministers, and on the soldiers. The government began to be systematically administered. The Mahárájá first attacked the Soumár territory, Bijini Bidyágrám, and Bijoypur, &c. Wherever his soldiers were ordered to march, they were victorious: every army sent out to oppose them, was destroyed.

At length, having conceived the idea of subjugating Bootan, he sent ambassadors with letters to the Deb and Dhurm Rajahs to the following effect: "You must always be subject to the reigning king of Kámtápur. On account of the anarchy that has hitherto prevailed in the kingdom, you have ruled as independent chiefs. Now, by the grace of Bhagavati, I have become king of Kámrup. You will, therefore, acknowledge submission and pay me tribute, or be prepared for war." The Deb Raja treated the message with contempt, and insulted the ambassador. As soon as the Mahárájá heard of this, he ordered preparations to be made for war. Thousands of men mounted on horses and elephants, as well as foot soldiers ascended into the mountains, and began to destroy the Bhootia troops. When much of the

mountain territory had been reduced to submission, and Mahárájá Bishwa Singha was ready to fall upon the Bhootia capital, the Deb Rájá had an interview with him, and made a treaty of peace, in which he engaged to pay the Mahárájá a stipulated annual tribute, as well as to present him with gifts; to help him with troops in case of war; and to administer the affairs of Bhootan under the Rájá's orders.

After this, the Mahárájá marched to the subjugation of Gour. The country was at that time under the rule of the Yavanas (Mussulmans), and Selim Shah, the son of Shere Shah, was emperor of Delhi. The Rájá's troops having reduced the country round Gour, and plundered a portion of it, advanced with the Rájá against the capital. On their arrival, Shishya Singha Ráikat conceived the idea of taking up his residence at Baikunthapur, a very beautiful place.

Bishwa Singha had, at this time, three sons. The eldest, Nri Singha, was learned, devout, and, like Bishwa Singha, given to ascetic practices. The second son, Nara Náráin, was eminent as a wrestler, and resembled the second Pánday, who by the help of Judhisteer was so successful in the contest with Bheem Sen. Hence he was also known by the name of Malla Náráin. And the youngest, Chilá Rái, was strong and powerful. His skin was very fair, and he was, on this account, named Shukla Dhwaaja* (the white standard). All three sons of the Mahárájá rose to power.

At length Heerá Devi dying, her funeral rites were

* Mentioned by Master Ralph Fytche, as Sukl Dhiy, reigning when he visited Couche, vide "Purchas his Pilgrims."

performed according to the custom of the place, and her shrádh and the ceremony of offering water to her manes, were duly celebrated. When she was dying, she had desired Bishwa Singha to establish his capital, not on Mount Chikná, but in the plains. Bishwa Singha, accordingly, built this capital on the plains, and erecting many magnificent houses, named the place Hinguláwás. In due course, thousands of people came to live in it. Bráhmans from all parts came and settled here. Temples sprang up in various spots. Shishya Singha had a house at Baikunthapur; but he used to remain with his troops at the capital.

Every year Rájá Bishwa Singha went to the place where he had received his divine anointing, and offered worship to Bhagavati on an imposing scale. He ruled and lived in perfect happiness.

CHAPTER XII.

Marriage of Bishwa Singha's sons. Disappearance of the Maharaja.

It became necessary to secure the aid in the government of the country, of the twelve men who as boys had played together. This is why they have been mentioned in this history. The daughter of one of them was, as a reward for his entire devotedness, given in marriage to Nri Singha. Nara Náráin was also married with great pomp and magnificence. After the celebration of the marriage, Nara Náráin's wife prostrated herself before the Maharájá

Bishwa Singha, and the Mahárájá bestowed upon her wealth and jewels. She then prostrated herself before Nri Singha, who presented her with pearl ornaments and other jewelry, and blessed her saying: "You will be queen consort." She then retired to the women's apartment. After that, Shukla Dhawaja was also married. Not long after, Nri Singha had a son born to him, whom he named Anirudra.

The Mahárájá reigned happily, surrounded by his sons and grandsons. Whenever a war or a revolt broke out in any country, he sent one of his sons, or the Ráikat. They ruled the country according to the king's instructions. The sons were all worthy men. In this way Mahárájá Bishwa Singha reigned for 31 years. At length, having come to regard earthly royalty as but a transitory thing, he became absorbed in meditation on the unchanging God, and calling his sons to him, gave them lessons in the art of governing. Taken up with the Yoga philosophy which he had learnt from Mahádev whilst he was yet in his mother's womb, he bade adieu to his brother and his sons, and first went to his birth-place on Mount Chikná. He then visited the spot where he had received his divine anointing. Here he said farewell to all those who had accompanied him. His sons, and his brother, and his ministers began to weep; but the king, forsaking all companionship, retired alone to the summit of the mountain. What became of him, and what he did after that, is not known to men. *

Here ends the divine period of this history.

PART II.

THE HUMAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

Nar Náráin becomes king.

This period embraces the history of Bishwa Singha's family. Mahárájá Bishwa Singha's reign extended to the 44th year of the Ráj Shaká. In the year 45 Ráj Shaká, corresponding with the Bengali year 961, and the year 1476 Shakábdá, the Mahárájá retired to the mountain to devote himself to an ascetic life.

Preparations were then made to place his eldest son Nri Singha on the throne. Bráhmans and Pundits from all lands assembled, and were ready to begin the inauguration ceremony according to the Shastras, and the three brothers took their seats in the assembly according to their rank. At this moment, Nar Náráin's wife, accompanied by one or two of her attendants, came before the assembly, and bowed down in front of Nri Singha. The men of the assembly and Nri Singha himself were surprised at this procedure, and the latter directed that she should be asked why she had come. The Devi said to Nri Singha: "Immediately after my marriage, when

I came and bowed before you, you blessed me, saying: 'You will be a queen consort.' Now that you are about to become king, how can I be the queen consort? Your words have proved untrue."

Nri Singha smiled and said: "O mother, you have spoken rightly. My words cannot fail of accomplishment. Nar Náráin will be king, and you will be the queen consort. I shall not be king."

On hearing this, Nar Náráin's wife retired to the inner apartment. Nri Singha ordered that Nar Náráin should be made king. The assembled people applauded Nri Singha, and Nar Náráin was inaugurated. On the following day, at a propitious moment, the Bráhmans and Pundits anointed Nar Náráin, repeating over him the Vedic formula. They then seated him on a magnificent *chákbalis*, and put on him the royal mark. The Ráikat lifted over him the white serpent-hood umbrella, and held the sceptre. The attendants waved their white fans before him; the Brahmins began to recite aloud the Vedas, and music and song and the dance were introduced.

Mahárájá Nar Náráin having thus become king, was the first to introduce a regular coinage. His gold and silver coins had on one side the name of Mahádev in the Dev-nágrí character, and on the other, the name of Sri Sri Mahárájá Nar Náráin. As "Náráin" was a part of his name, these coins came to be called "Náráini rupees." The rupee was at that time a full one, and this coin became current in countries not under his sway. He also prepared a seal with his own name impressed upon it; besides this,

he had another seal with a lion stamped upon it, called the "Singhachháp," under which he issued all his mandates. On that day, he gave presents of garments and ornaments of various kinds, elephants, horses and other things to his brothers, to the Ráikat, to his councillors, and to his soldiers. He pleased the Bráhmans by bestowing gifts of money upon them. He relieved the distresses of the poor by distributing money among them. Having thus gratified all parties, he appointed a very worthy man of the Káyast caste as his Dewan. Sending for Bráhmans from Mithilá and Kámrup and other places, he settled them in his territories, conferring Brahmottar lands upon them. He appointed a Bráhman as his Nazir, and in his court, he conversed on the Shastras and on religious topics. The country and the council reaped great benefit; and his subjects were contented and began to be rich. They began to trade with other lands, and introduced into the kingdom the produce of foreign regions.

The Ráikat retired to Baikunthapur. His descendants reside there to this day. At stated periods they come on a visit to the capital. Nri Singha passed his time in spiritual meditation. The pergunnah of Pángá was set apart for his maintenance, and his family dwelt there; but Anirudra remained at the capital.

CHAPTER II.

Shukla Dhawaja's ambition is rebuked. The Doorgá Poojah festival is established.

When Mahárájá Nar Náráin became king, his subjects all became happy. Tribute money as well as other things began to flow in from various countries. The Dev Rájá sent every year the amount of tribute that had been determined; together with mountain-ponies, and many-coloured cloths.

At this time, letters began to be received from Gour, complaining that the power of the Mahomedans was on the increase, and that the territories subjugated by the Mahárájá, were being attacked by them. The moment the Mahárájá received these tidings, he ordered his army to be in readiness, and after offering worship to the Hanumán sceptre, he turned it round so as to avert the face of the monkey. On the following morning he found that the face had turned to the south-west. Inferring from this that he would be successful in his expedition, he set out with three kinds of soldiers, holding in his hand the sword that Bhagavati had given. The leader of the troops composed of the natives of the country, was the Ráikat : Anirudra commanded the Hindustanis, Rajputs, Moguls, and Pathans, who were mercenaries ; the Dev Rájá was at the head of the Bhutia troops, and Shukla Dhawaja was appointed commander-in-chief.

Thus magnificently did the Mahārāja Malla Nārāin advance with horsemen, men on elephants, and foot soldiers. Over his head was spread the white umbrella, and in his hand was the sceptre. Sometimes he rode on horseback, sometimes on an elephant, and sometimes in a litter. As the army approached Gour, it was broken up into divisions; the first under Anirudra attacked the Mahomedans and slew their leader. The Mahomedan army being broken, fled to their own country. The Mahārāja having subdued Gour and other cities, subjugated the country as far as the banks of the Ganges. There he granted brahmottar lands to many Brahmans, under sunnuds written in Sanscrit verse and bearing the "singha-chhap," or lion-seal. Some of the instruments conveying these lands are still extant.

At length after a year spent in that region, Anirudra who had conquered it, was made ruler of the country of Gour, and the Mahārāja returned to his own capital. He ordered Shukla Dhawja to subjugate Ghorghát and other countries, and accordingly Shukla Dhawja having succeeded in subduing many kingdoms, returned to the capital laden with immense treasure. Shukla Dhawja was regarded as the foremost military leader, and his troops were always obedient to him.

The king now reigned in peace. The council sat every day, and each one had his place in it according to his rank. One day it occurred to Shukla Dhawja that he ought to rule. "It is I," reasoned he, "who conduct all the wars; the people all acknowledge my

authority ; Nar Náráin is king only in name ; let me slay him and become king myself." After reflecting thus, he armed himself with a sharp sword and went to the Council with the intention of taking the king's life.

On reaching the assembly, his eyes fell on the king, but he saw the ten-armed Bhagavati herself occupying the chákbalis, with two of her arms round Nar Náráin who was seated in her lap. The council chamber was lighted up with the brightness of her presence. At sight of this, Shukla Dhwaja swooned and fell. In a little while, recovering consciousness he began to weep, and addressing the king, said : " O Maharáj, I am verily guilty : save me." The king was startled ; but rising quickly from his seat, held Shukla Dhwaja by the hand, and leading him to the assembly, said in gentle tones : " Brother, you have committed no offence : rather, it is by the strength of your arm that I rule." Shukla Dhwaja in his distress, told the king, with joined hands, of the determination he had formed in his mind, and of how he had seen him encircled by the arms of Bhagavati in the form of the destroyer* of Mahish, and added : " My guilt is very great, for I have desired to destroy him who was, firstly, my brother, secondly, my king, and thirdly, the object of Bhagavati's special protection. What help is there for me now ?"

On hearing this, the members of the king's council were utterly astonished. Nar Náráin wept, and his tears flowed down his breast. He said to his brother :

“ You desire to be a king ; you shall reign over a vast kingdom, and I will confer a great kingdom upon you. You are most fortunate ; for your eyes have beheld Bhagavati. I did not see her. I must be very sinful for the queen of the world to have held me within her arms, and for me not to have seen her. Thus grieving he retired to a solitary place, and for three days remained without food. In a dream of the night, Bhagavati appeared to him, and said : “ Arise and behold the image of the Destroyer of Mahish which is worshipped in this world, and in the autumn construct an image of her and render her the prescribed worship.” The king opened his eyes and beheld Bhagavati. Repeatedly bowing down before her in adoration, he said : “ O Mother, a lion seized with his teeth the right arm of the Asura Mahish ; but his left arm is free.” He was then desired to represent a tiger as fastened on the left arm. Accordingly the image [of Durga] which the Mahárájá worships during the autumn festival, answers to this description and is of the colour of the rising sun. When Nar Náráin beheld the image, he felt himself blessed. On the eighth day of the moon in Srában, according to the instructions received, the sacrificial post is cut, and a gladsome festival has ever since been held on every such eighth day with readings out of the shastras, &c. Such is the practice to this day.

In accordance with what he had seen in his dream, the king constructed an image, and on the second day of the moon in Assin, having rendered adoration to

Bhagavati, he offered worship with gifts of various kinds. On the mahashtami (the great eighth day), there were eight pujás for the eight prahars of the day, besides a special pujá at midnight. The order in which the Mahárájá Nar Náráin arranged the religious ceremonies in honour of Durga, obtains to the present day. Every year the image of the goddess is made of the size of which it was first constructed, and the Mahárájá retains the original ceremonies.

CHAPTER III.

The invasion of Assam and the settlement there of Shukla Dhwaja.

The Mahárájá, as mentioned in the previous chapter, had said to Shukla Dhwaja : " You are anxious to become a king : I will bestow a great kingdom upon you." Accordingly, in the 53rd year of the Ráj Shaká, answering to the year 1484 Shakábdá, the king having offered worship to the Hanumán sceptre, turned its face round. In the morning he found that the sceptre had turned its face in the direction of the north-east. The king was delighted, and seizing the sword given by Bhagavati, and the umbrella and sceptre, he set out to conquer Assam with his three kinds of soldiers. Shukla Dhwaja was in chief command of the army. Having in due course crossed the Brahmaputra, and come close upon Gowhāti, the troops in advance fell in with the troops sent out by Sukhangkrasí, the king of Assam, and a severe engage-

ment ensued. The Assamese, however, being awed by certain visions of terror, were overpowered, and Nar Náráin, without further difficulty, took possession of Gowháti and the Niláchal mountain, Doranga, Beltail and other places.

The celestial kings of Assam, at that time, were barbarians. When the Assamese troops brought tidings to their king of the defeat of his army, they declared that Nar Náráin and Shukla Dhawaja were not men but the sons of gods, because four-armed and two-armed Yoginis came forth from the midst of their troops to aid in the destruction of their enemies. Sukhangkrafa, the king of north Soumár in Assam, having, from a desire to engage in the war, left his own territory, and advanced half way with his troops to the scene of the war, was greatly surprised when he heard of all that had transpired. He said : " Unless I see it, I will not believe." His ministers said to him : " It is of no use to fight." The Rájá then despatched a messenger to Maharaja Nar Náráin, and with him he sent a he-goat made of iron, and a wooden sword, adding that if Nar Náráin was the son of a god, he would be able to cut through the iron goat with the wooden sword ; but that otherwise, what he (the Rájá) had heard about him must be all false. The messenger came to Nar Náráin and delivered his message. On hearing it, Shukla Dhawaja grew faint. Nar Náráin, however, smiling, said : " If Bhagavati has purposed to give me the kingdom, then as, once before, she accepted the human sacrifice slain with a sword made of the binná leaf, so she will accept this sacrifice : other-

wise, how can I accomplish this task ?” The king then having performed an elaborate puja at Kámákhyá, Shukla Dhawja held the iron goat. The moment Nar Náráin struck a blow at it with the wooden sword, the goat was severed in two and blood began to flow from it. The messenger prostrated himself at the feet of the Mahárájá, and began to praise him. The goat and the sword were sent to the king of Assam. The latter was astonished, and fled to a mountain called Charái Khoranga. On the Mahárájá’s assuring him that he had nothing to fear, king Sukhangkrafa left his army and came to Nar Náráin, and prostrated himself before him. Mahárájá Nar Náráin embraced the king of Assam, gave him a seat equal in respect of dignity with his own, and said : “ All the territory that I have conquered will remain mine : the rest, including north Soumár and other lands, will remain yours. But in one and the same country, there cannot be two kings holding umbrellas. Wherefore I have broken your umbrella (deprived you of independent sovereignty).” Saying this, he took away the red umbrella of the king of Assam.

Kálápáhàr had broken down the temple of Kámákhyá. On its ruins Nar Náráin erected a temple, half of which was of brick work. On its summit, he placed a cupola of gold, and a little in advance of it he built a second temple. An account of all this is engraven in verse on the stones over the door-way of Bhagavati’s shrine ; and in the building in front there are images in stone of Nar Náráin and Shukla Dhawja. Up to this day, the offerings and garlands that

had been previously presented to Bhagavati, are laid before these images. In all the places of pilgrimage, whether at Háigrib Mádhab, or Janárdán or elsewhere, the Mahárájá built temples and palaces, and constructed roads. He arranged the services of the temples, and provided for their maintenance by making grants of land to all the Sebáit (officiating) Brahmans. He also apportioned lands to the support of the servants of the temples,—an appropriation which continues in force to the present day. I who am writing this history of the kings, have seen with my own eyes these tokens which they have left of their glory. In Háigrib Mádhab, every day, four dandas* are given to the reading of the Sri Bhágavat, four dandas to the singing of hymns of adoration, four dandas to singing the praises of Hari, four dandas to the dancing of men, four dandas to the dancing of women, and four dandas to the offering of incense. The same order is observed at night. The music continues without interruption through the eight prahars.† On enquiry, I was told that this practice had been continued ever since the time of Mahárájá Nar Náráin. From that time have these people enjoyed the lands &c., assigned for their support. Just as they come in their respective courses, perform their several parts in the service of the temple and then depart, so have many others in other places been doing the same thing by appointment of the Mahárájá. I have seen many such places, but I cannot write of them all.

* A measure of time equivalent to 24 minutes.

† Three hours.

The Mahárájá put the Náráini rupee into circulation in Assam, and it is current there still. A curious circumstance is this, that on Mt. Niláchal there lived a Bráhmaṇ, named Dalai, the chief of the officiating Bráhmaṇs of Kámákhyá, who every evening, after the offering of incense, played on a mridang (kind of drum), to the music of which Bhagavati danced naked in the inner shrine. When the king heard of this, he arranged with the Bráhmaṇ to have a sight of her from a loophole. Bhagavati being angry, said to the Bráhmaṇ : “ There shall be no more dancing in the sight of man. Nar Náráin is my son : why should he see his mother in a nude state ? Wherefore, henceforward, neither he nor his descendants shall look upon Kámákhyá, or my nude image.” From that time, the Rajas never look upon Kámákhyá or her nude imago.

At length, Mahárájá Nar Náráin having made over the kingdom, together with Bidyágaon and Bijni, to Shukla Dhwaja, returned to his own capital. Shukla Dhwaja was succeeded in the kingdom by Raghudeb Náráin, and he by his son, Parikhít Náráin. Parikhít Náráin was a weak ruler. His territory was snatched from him by the celestial king of Assam. A part of it was also seized by the Muhammadans. Shukla Dhwa-ja's descendants are to be found to this day in Dor-anga, Bijni, and Beltail.

CHAPTER IV.

Lakhmi Narain is born. Death of Mahárájá Nar Náráin.

Mahárájá Nar Náráin having subdued Assam, placed his youngest brother, Shukla Dhawja, otherwise called Ch'ilá Rái, upon the throne, and after introducing coin struck in his own name, returned to his capital. After some time, the Mahárájá had a son born to him. The king on beholding this son so handsome and bearing so many marks of good fortune, was greatly delighted, and after consultation with the astrologers, named him Lakhmi Náráin. The young prince began to grow from day to day like the moon, and the king's days passed happily with him. When the prince royal was 16 years of age, the Mahárájá sent for a beautiful girl and married her to him. But Lakhmi Náráin was fond of the society of women, and he had brought to him several unmarried girls whom he kept as his wives. By them, during Nar Náráin's lifetime, he had three sons named respectively Braja Náráin, Bhím Náráin and Prabal Náráin.

The Mahárájá continued to reign free from disturbance. Brahmans and Pundits were constantly invited to the Royal Council, where many questions relating to the Shastras were discussed and settled. Among these learned Pundits, was a celebrated man named Purushottam Bhattácharjya who constructed the Ratnamálá Byákaran (grammar). This grammar is still in use in this country (Cooch Behar) and in Shoumár. There is no other grammar in use. It is

also used in other countries. It bears the name of Rájá Malla Náráin. It is a most profitable book to those who are seeking knowledge.

Thus Mahárájá Nar Náráin continued to reign for 33 years. No national calamities occurred during this period. The clouds gave their rain in due season, and there was neither famine nor pestilence. The people were all wealthy and happy. Evil doers were punished according to law, and no injustice was perpetrated. The Mahárájá Nar Náráin was never overcome in any war. He was the son of a goddess ; how can I describe his glory? At last in the 78th year of the Rajshaká, answering to the Bengali year 994, and the year 1509 Shakábdá, he departed out of this perishable body and went to Kailás. The Brahmans and Pundits with one accord adopted the practice of the Shagniks and ordained that the ceremonial uncleanness consequent on this event, should be held not to begin till the time when the fire was applied to the corpse, because, otherwise, the son would have been unable to assume the royal robes and be appointed king. On Nar Náráin's decease, the ministers and pundits together with the Ráikat and others investing the Prince with the royal robes and ornaments, placed him on the chákbalis, and on the reading of the Vedas declared him king. The Ráikat held the umbrella over him, and lifted the sceptre. A seal and coins were struck in the name of the Mahárájá Lakhmi Náráin, and the Ráikat and the ministers brought their nuzzurs to the king in the newly-coined money. There was music also

of various kinds, and dancing. The Mahárájá, after this, gave orders for the funeral obsequies of the late king, and dismissed the assembly. The relatives and others united to perform the funeral rites, after which, the offering of water to the manes was made, and the shraddha was performed.

CHAPTER V.

Lakhmi Náráin's forced visit to Delhi: his return and death.

Mahárájá Lakhmi Náráin on becoming king treated his father's ministers with great deference. When the good news that he had become king reached other lands, letters came from there, accompanied with rich presents sent by means of messengers who in due course returned, delighted with the gifts of the Mahárájá. At this time, Jelál-ud-din Akbar was the emperor of Delhi, and his general, Alikooli Khan had conquered Gour and other countries. Anirudra died in battle. His sons escaped and came to Pángá. The Mahárájá Lakhmi Náráin having given himself up to the society of women, never himself went out to war, but only sent his troops. They returned defeated, and many of them were destroyed.

In course of time, Mahárájá Lakhmi Náráin had eighteen sons, of whom Bír Náráin was the son of the queen. All the sons grew up to be able men. Bajra Náráin, Bhím Náráin and Mahi Náráin became powerful, and the country prospered. One day, when

the Council had been called, and the king's ministers were all seated in their respective places, and the king was expected to arrive immediately, Mukunda Sarbbabhaum, a very learned pundit, and possessing divine powers, came into the assembly and took his seat close beside the chákbalis. The king then arrived, and seeing a Brahman stationed near the royal seat, he became angry, and rolling about his eyes, addressed the Bráhmaṇ thus: "You are not worthy to sit near the royal seat." The Brahman being thus insulted, and feeling himself disgraced in the presence of the Council, went away to Delhi. Nooruddin Muhammad Jehangir Shah, was then Emperor. Being the grandson of a Hindu, he held all Brahmans in high respect, and especially this divinely gifted man, whom he on this account highly esteemed. The Brahman having arrived at his court, the Emperor asked him what petition he had to make. The Brahman replied: "My dwelling-place is in Kámrup, in the country of Behar. The king of the place is Lakṣmi Níráin. I was insulted because I took my seat beside his throne. Have that king, not slain, but brought here alive, and in his presence give me a seat beside your throne. Then will the grief of my mind be stayed. The kings of that place are sprung from the gods and are very mighty men. They stoop to no one." The emperor promised to do this.

Accordingly, a written order was despatched to the Muhammadan Governor of Gour who advanced with a strong force and subdued Thorághát and other territories, and threw the remaining countries

into terrible disorder. At one time the king's forces were defeated, at another time the Muhammadan troops. The kingdom began to be ruined. The Mahárájá on learning the purpose for which the Muhammadan troops had come, and seeing no help for it, consented to go to Delhi. Setting out for Delhi with the princes Bajra Náráin and Bhim Náráin, he wrote a letter, when half way on the road, to the Muhammadan Governor of Gour, requesting that during his absence, his kingdom might not be oppressed or his subjects destroyed. From that time all disturbances ceased in the country.

On the king's arrival in Delhi, he took up his residence in a certain part of the city, and sought an interview with the Emperor. One day, the king and his two sons were going along a road which had large houses standing on either side of it. The road itself was very narrow. They were here met in front by an enraged elephant that was being brought along. The road was so narrow that an elephant passing along it would fill it up, so that no one else could pass. The elephant-driver desired the king to turn back. The king replied by desiring him to back out and so get out of the way. The driver on this attempted to ride the elephant over the king and his sons, so as to crush them beneath its feet. At the king's command, Bajra Náráin caught the two tusks of the elephant and pushed the beast back with such force that it screamed as it went backwards. The king then passed on without difficulty.

The elephant-driver having reported this occurrence

to the Emperor, the latter expressed great surprise, and asked from where so powerful a man could have come. Mukunda Sárbbabhaum being in the Council, said : “ Where will you find a man so strong except among the sons of Bishwa Singha ? King Lakhmi Náráin has come to Delhi.” On another occasion, as the Mahárájá, after his bath in the Jumna and the ceremony of offering water to the manes of his ancestors, was performing other daily rites, a sixteen-oared boat pulled up to the landing-place and was about to be secured there. The boatmen cried out : “ Move away from the ghát.” The king and his son replied : “ Moor the boat a little way from the ghát.” The boatmen on this, began to pull the boat forward, and attempted to bring it right upon the Mahárájá so as to crush him. Bhim Náráin seeing this, stooped forwards and planted himself in front of the king, baring his breast to the boat. As the prow struck his breast, its impetus was broken and it glided backwards. All the people were astonished at what they saw, and immediately reported the matter to the emperor.

The emperor now determined to grant an interview to the Mahárájá. He had previously heard that the king would never make a *sálám*. Accordingly he seated himself opposite a door that was so low, that no one could come through without stooping, and then sent for the king. He gave the Bráhmaṇ Sárbbabhaum a seat by his side. The king on advancing to the door in company with his two sons, perceived the emperor’s design, and glanced towards his sons. Bajra Náráin placed his head against the

arch over the door, and lifted it up so as to admit of the king's and Bhim Náráin's passing comfortably through without stooping. After they had passed in Bajra Náráin withdrawing from the door, entered. The emperor was astonished at what he saw, and concluded that they were not ordinary men, but gods. As soon as the Brahman [who had been insulted] saw the king, he left his seat near the throne, and blessing the Mahárájá said : "Maháráj, I am considered worthy of a seat here." And the king felt ashamed.

On the occasion of the above interview with the emperor, and again on a subsequent occasion, a treaty was made between the emperor and the king, to the effect that the emperor should not seize on any territory held by the king, and that the king should not seize on any territory belonging to the emperor ; that the Náráini rupee should no longer be a full one, but should circulate with the Mahárájá's name stamped on only half of it ; and that no one belonging to the emperor should be permitted to injure the king. Having agreed to these terms, the emperor conferred rewards on the king and dismissed him.

On his return, the king brought with him workmen from Delhi, whom he engaged to build eighteen houses in Athárákothá for his eighteen sons. This formed the capital: he then gave his sons in marriage to worthy women. The son that Bir Náráin's wife gave her husband, was Prán Náráin. The king's reign glided on comfortably till Bajra Náráin suddenly died. After a few days, Bhim Náráin also died. The king was overwhelmed with grief, and gave himself up to

devotional exercises. For some special reason, he dismissed the Bráhmaṇ Nazir and made Mahi Náráin Nazir. And he appointed Bir Náráin to be heir-apparent. After having reigned for 35 years, the king fell sick and died in the 112th year of the Raj Shaká answering to the Bengali year 1028, and the year 1543 Shakábdá. On his death, the Mahárájá Bir Náráin became king and performed the usual ceremonies in honour of the deceased Lakhmi Náráin.

CHAPTER VI.

Bir Náráin establishes schools. He dies from remorse occasioned by the untimely death of his daughter, and is succeeded by Prán Náráin.

Mahárájá Bir Náráin now began to reign, and he made Prán Náráin heir-apparent. Athárákothá became the capital. A certain Mandal built a palace adorned with temples and presented it to the king. It was named Mandaláwás. The king used sometimes with his family to visit the place and reside there. During the early part of the reign of Mahárájá Bir Náráin, a Brahman named Digbijayi Bhattácharjia Náráin Trailokyadarshi came to the gate, and was greatly insulted by the rude words of the gate-keepers. The king was greatly ashamed of this, and accordingly established schools in different places, sent the sons of the Bráhmaṇs, and the prince Prán Náráin, and the sons of his ministers and servants and gate-keepers to learn at these schools, and

used to inquire as to the progress of the pupils, and even to hear them read. Thus by degrees all the people became enlightened.

From the beginning of this reign, however, the people of Butan ceased to pay tribute, and merely sent the annual gifts and presents. King Bir Náráin could not manage that country. At his inauguration, the Ráikat was not present. The Nazir Mahi Náráin Konwar held the umbrella over him, and so received the title of Chatra Nazir. The king did not wait for the Ráikat's arrival : it was the Nazir who inaugurated him as king and held the umbrella.

King Bir Narain then went to Mandaláwás where there lived several of his wives by gandharbba marriage, and daughters. One afternoon, seeing a very handsome girl of sixteen plucking flowers in the garden, he asked for her society, adding that he was overcome by the sight of her breasts. This he said, not being aware that she was his daughter. The princess on hearing the proposal escaped to the women's apartment in utter dismay. On the king's sending a message to her there, she took the golden sieve and five golden lamps that she had received at her marriage, together with a golden salver and a sharp knife, and went down with them to the bank of the river. Here, having lighted her lamps, she, with the knife, cut off her breasts, and placing them upon the salver, desired her attendant to convey them to her father, adding : " Let him have what he wanted : I am going." Saying this, she placed the golden tray and the lamps upon her head and drowned herself in the river. From

that time, the river received the name of Konwári Nadi, a name which survives to this day. The attendant conveyed the salver to the king and told him what had happened. The Mahárájá was greatly distressed and began to weep, and repeatedly swooned away. Well nigh dying with grief and shame, he said : “ O Mahádev, when Brahmá sought to violate Sandhyá,* you struck off his upper head ; why do you not strike me with your spear ? ” The king’s ministers sought to comfort him ; but from that time the king no longer sat regularly in the assembly of his councillors, but was always covered with shame. He died after a reign of five years, in the year 117 of the Ráj Shaká, answering to the Bengali year 1033, and the year 1548 Shakábdá. *

Mahárájá Pran Náráin now became king, according to family custom. The Chatra Nazir, Mahi Náráin, held the umbrella over him, and presented a nuzzur. The ministers did what was required of them under the circumstances. The seals and coin were stamped with the name of Mahárájá Pran Náráin. The stamp of the lion continued as before. At his command, the funeral rites of Mahárájá Bir Náráin were duly performed.

* A daughter of Bramhá.

CHAPTER VII.

Prán Náráin's learning and the learned character of his Council. The Maharaja's treatise on music and dancing. He is disturbed in his last days, by the ambitious views of Mahi Náráin, but is eventually succeeded by his second son.

The subjects of Behar willingly came forward with the royal tribute, when Prán Náráin became king. The distress that had spread over the land gradually disappeared and the country began to flourish. Just as, when the clouds are dispersed, the moon shines forth in her full-orbed brightness, so when Prán Náráin ascended the throne, the country became flooded with light. Religious observances and religious conversation became popular everywhere.

The Mahárájá was an unrivalled scholar in respect of grammar and literature and the Smriti Shashtra,* a clover poet, and a man of remarkable memory. The children whom Mahárájá Bir Náráin had taught, became, almost all of them, learned men. There were many learned men in the king's council, among whom there were five men in particular, by whom the *Pancha Ratna Sabhá* (The society of the five gems) was formed. There had been no such learned assemblage of Bráhmans since the time of Vikramáditya. There were two ministers, called respectively Kabi-ratna (a pearl of a poet), and Kabi-bhushan (an ornament of

* Codes of law.

a poet). All the members of the king's council were learned men. The servants, the porters, the guards, were all read in the Śāstras, and spoke no language save Sanscrit. The ambassadors and ministers sent by other states, were astonished on entering the king's assembly. There was constant conversation on the subject of the Śāstras, and the government was administered with justice.

During the reign of Rājā Prān Nārāin, the kingdom was not disturbed by any internal revolution. No one attempted to seize any portion of the territory that he held : his subjects all lived happily. The Mahārājā first erected a brick temple to Sri Sri Jal-peshwar. To me it appeared a wonderful temple. No one has ever beheld a larger : indeed, those who have had opportunities of seeing temples in various other lands, all agree, that nowhere is there a temple of such a size. Indeed, it has the appearance of being a more than human work. He also repaired the temple and walls of Goshān Maroi, built temples in Bāneshwar and Sandeshwar, and here and there constructed high roads, and bridges.

Mahārājā Prān Nārāin has left a great name, and his reign was most prosperous. It is well known that he attended to the administration of his kingdom during five out of the six seasons of each year. Releasing himself from all work before the spring season, he used to retire with his wives to a lovely flower-garden, where the time was spent in pleasure and all manner of amusements, in plucking flowers, and weaving garlands, and making flower-cradles, no other male per-

son being allowed admittance. After the spring was over, he resumed the administration of the government.

In the royal assemblies, there were always music and singing and dancing. The king himself was unrivalled in the arts of singing and dancing. He also wrote a treatise on the subject : it is a wonderful production, and I have heard it read. The mere reading of it made one well-versed in the science of music. No one else could ever have written such a book : it gained a universal reputation. The book was destroyed by fire, nor have I heard that there is a copy anywhere. Many other remarkable things did Mahárájá Prán Náráin do, and he was a man of various powers.

The Mahárájá, in course of time, had three sons, of whom the first was Vishnu Náráin, who was born before his father came to the throne. Not long after his father assumed the government, Vishnu Náráin died, having had a son born to him named Mán Náráin. The Mahárájá's second son was Madan Náráin, and his third son, Basudeb Náráin.

After having reigned happily for 39 years, surrounded by his two sons and his grandsons, the king fell sick. Physicians tried in vain to arrest the disease, and it steadily increased upon him, until the rumour went abroad that the king was dead. Then the Chatra Nazir, Mahi Náráin, who was the king's uncle, and who, as a commander of troops had many soldiers under his orders, having heard tidings of the king's death, entered the capital at the head of his troops, accompanied by his four sons, Darpa Náráin, Jagat

Naráin, Jagya Náráin and Chandra Náráin, who were very powerful. When the king heard that Mahi Náráin had arrived in the capital with his troops, he desired his two ministers, Kabiratna and Kabi-bhushan, to go and fetch him. As they entered into Mahi Náráin's presence, the latter said: "The king is dead, and you have delayed to publish the fact for some purpose of your own. Let me help you to accomplish that purpose." So saying, he ordered his men to strike their heads off. That instant Kabiratna and Kabi-bhushan were put to death.

When the king heard what had happened, he sighed deeply. He knew that if he did not die of disease, he would die at the hands of Mahi Náráin and his sons. Meanwhile, these men came to the king, and finding him still alive felt ashamed, and took their seats in the usual manner before him. The Maharájá addressing himself in a feeble voice to Mahi Náráin, said: "O Uncle! if fortune favours, every descendant of Bishwa Singha may become a king. Just now, you with your four sons are most powerful, and you are desirous to secure the throne. You have begun with putting the ministers to death: with whose assistance do you hope to reign?" The Chatra Názir on being thus spoken to, was covered with shame, and saying something about the king recovering his health, retired to his camp.

On the third day after this, the king died. All four of Mahi Náráin's sons aspired to the throne. Mahi Náráin was at a loss which one of them to favour, because he knew that the remaining three would be

sure to unite against the fortunate one and take his life. After long consideration, he raised Mahárájá Prán Náráin's second son, Mod Náráin, to the throne, and himself held the umbrella over him. The seals and money being stamped in Mod Náráin's name, Mahi Náráin brought his nuzzur in the new coin, and at the royal command, the funeral rites of the deceased king were performed. Mahi Náráin selected men on whom he could rely, to conduct public affairs, and having appointed, as chief minister, a man who was the son of a Káyast, he returned home in company with his sons and his troops.

Mahárájá Prán Náráin reigned 39 years.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Chatra Nazir's troops revolt and are defeated by the king. Mahi Náráin escapes and remains in disguise for a time, but is ultimately slain. His sons are also defeated. Mod Náráin's death.

Mahárájá Mod Náráin became king in the year 156 of the Raj Shaká, answering to 1587 Shakábdá, and the Bengali year 1072. The administration, however, was practically in the hands of Mahi Náráin and his sons, whose commands overruled the king's orders. All those officers of the State that obeyed the royal commands, were easily ruined. Seeing this, Mod Náráin became melancholy, and saw no help save in God.

The king waited patiently for some years, and having by degrees won over to his side some of the Chatra Nazir's troops as well as those that were in the capital, he slew some of the officers related to Mahi Náráin, and expelled others. Mahi Náráin in his wrath hastened to the capital with his soldiers, and a great battle ensued. Many were slain on either side, and Mahi Náráin's fourth son, Chandra Náráin was cut down in the fight. Mahi Náráin was defeated and fled. Mahárájá Mod Náráin became victorious. Darpa Náráin, Jagat Náráin, and Jagya Náráin escaped to Butan. Mahi Náráin withdrew from the world, and assumed the garb of a Sannyási, and was thenceforward called Gosáin Mahi Náráin. After living for a time in different places, he went to the Ráikats at Baikunthapur. On their sending word to the king that he was there, a party of men was despatched to seize him. In the fight that ensued with these men, he was struck by a spear and died. After his death, his sons Darpa Náráin and the others, securing the help of the Bhutias, fought two or three battles with king Mod Náráin, in which the latter was victorious. But the king was troubled by internal dissensions, and the kingdom was not properly governed. *

Mod Náráin died after a reign of 15 years. He left no sons, and so one line of Bishwa Singha's descendants became extinct. We turn now to the history of Basu Deb Náráin who next ascended the throne.

CHAPTER IX.

The capital is seized by Mahi Náráin's sons who flee at the approach of the Bhutias. Basu Dev Náráin is murdered. Mahi Náráin's sons again invade the country, and are a second time beaten back by the Bhutias, who place Mahanára Náráin upon the throne.

Immediately on the death of Rájá Mod Náráin in the 171st year of the Raj Shaka, answering to the year 1087, B. E., and 1602 Shakábdá, the ministers sent intelligence of the event to Jagdev and Bhujá Dev Ráikat at Baikunthapur. They were powerful and had a large military force. Although they hastened to the capital as soon as they heard of the king's death, Darpa Náráin and others, the Gosáin Mahi Náráin's three sons, forming an alliance with the Bhutias, reached the capital before them, and slaying some of the inhabitants and imprisoning others, began to plunder the place. Prán Náráin's third son Basu Dev Náráin, and his grandson Mán Náráin Konwár with his infant son, fled to the south. Mahi Náráin's sons were absorbed in the question, Who was to be king? Just at this time they heard that Jagdev and Bhujá Dev were with their troops crossing the Mansá river. Being alarmed, they immediately fled in different directions, and were pursued by Jagdev and Bhujá Dev. The Bhutias stole the umbrella, the sceptre, and the throne made by Bishwa Singha, the sword, the bracelet set with precious stones given by Bhagavati, and in fact, all the insignia held sacred by kings. Their gaining possession of these

things were like a monkey finding a nut, and knowing the value of their plunder, they hid it in some cave of their mountains where it could not be found, and then escaped for their lives. Darpa Nārāin Konwār, Jagat Nārāin Konwār, and Jagya Nārāin Konwār fled to the mountains.

Jaga Dev and Bhuja Dev being able to fall in with none of the enemy, returned disappointed to the capital. Having another umbrella, and another Hanuman sceptre and throne constructed, they made Basu Dev Nārāin king. The Rāikat held the umbrella. The coin was struck and the seal prepared in Basu Dev's name; and a second seal with the figure of a lion was made. And now the work of administering the kingdom began.

After spending some days at the capital, Jaga Dev and Bhuja Dev returned home. Darpa Nārāin Konwār very soon finding himself unable to bear the water and air of the mountains, sickened and died, leaving two sons, Shānta Nārāin Konwār and Satya Nārāin Konwār. The Mahārāja Basu Dev Nārāin managed to reign for two years; but on the death of Mān Nārāin Konwār, Jagat Nārāin, Jagya Nārāin, and Darpa Nārāin's sons Shānta Nārāin and Satya Nārāin, collecting together their men and the Bhutia troops, came down together upon the capital and began to put the inhabitants to the sword. On this, the Mahārāja advanced with his troops and gave them battle. The contest was a severe one. Many soldiers on both sides were slain. At last the king's troops were routed, and the king, being unable to

hold his ground, escaped, to the queen's apartments in the palace. Before his arrival, his wives had taken Mán Náráin's infant son, Mahendra Náráin, and had retired elsewhere. The king therefore did not see them. He then came back from the women's apartment, and was about to mount his horse with a view to escape to a distance, when he was surrounded by the enemy's troops, who seized him and, by Jagya Náráin's orders, immediately cut off his head. The ministers of the king and his soldiers were panic-stricken and fled in all directions.

Jagya Náráin contemplated seizing the throne, but as Mahendra Náráin had gone away with the royal umbrella and sceptre, he began a search for him. Jagat Náráin likewise aspired to the throne, and was scheming how he should gain his end; but in the meanwhile Jaga Dev and Bhuja Dev having heard at Baikunthapur of what had occurred, had summoned their troops, and had in a single day and night, advanced as far as the Mánasá river. There they were joined by the late king's ministers and troops, and when they had made their preparations, they crossed the river. When the two armies came face to face, a terrible battle ensued, in which thousands and thousands of soldiers lost their lives. At last victory declared for Jaga Dev and Bhuja Dev. Jagat Náráin fled to the mountains. When Jaga Dev and Bhuja Dev reached the palace, they found it utterly deserted, whilst the dead bodies lying scattered about, gave the spot the appearance of a burning place of the dead. The sight grieved them greatly.

Seeing that there was no son of Frán Náráin's surviving, save the infant Mahendra Náráin, they brought him with the royal umbrella and sceptre, and setting him upon the throne in the 173rd year of the Ráj Shaká, answering to the year 1089, B. E., and the year 1604 Shakábdá, themselves held the umbrella. Coin was struck and the seals prepared in his name. The former ministers were reinstated in their respective offices, and the Ráikats, after leaving some of their troops, returned home.

CHAPTER X.

Disturbances in the kingdom. Mahomedan incursion. Some of the officers of the State throw off their allegiance to the Rájd.

When, in the year 173 Ráj Shaká, Muhárájá Mahendra Náráin became king, he was five years old. The ministers attended to all business. Jagat Náráin Konwár and Jagya Náráin Konwár, were constantly disturbing the kingdom. At one time they plundered the people of one part, and at another time, those of another; and sometimes they advanced with troops upon the capital. Jaga Dev Ráikat died very unexpectedly, and Bhuja Dev lay sick. The king's ministers were anxious about the security of the kingdom. Some years passed in this way. Officers of State here and there assumed independence. This was particularly the case with the men in charge

of the Pergunnahs in the southern portion of the kingdom, who revolted against the king's authority, and paying some small amount as tribute to Ibrahim Khan the Subah of Dacca and his son Zabardast Khan, attached themselves to the Fouzdár of Ghorághát. The Raikat at Baikunthapur and the Konwárs of Pángá now paid tribute to the Subah.

It was at this time that Jagat Náráin Konwár died. He had two sons, Rup Náráin and Bishwa Náráin. Mahárájá Mahendra Náráin not knowing what to do, sent for Jagya Náráin Konwár together with his nephews, and formed an alliance with them, and conferring the chatra-nazirship that had been held by Gosain Mahi Náráin, on Jagya Náráin, appointed him to the command of the army. The Bhutias now began to render help. The Dey Rájá acknowledged allegiance to the Dharm Rájá, and they likewise rendered assistance. They occasionally sent presents, but they refused to remain in subjection, and when they rendered help, it was rendered voluntarily.

Jagya Náráin having become commander-in-chief, began a war against the Mahomedans. There was much destruction of life on either side. In some places very severe battles were fought. At Pátgrám,* the Mahomedans having decapitated a number of the king's troops, made a necklace of their heads and attached it to a bamboo pole. The place, from this circumstance, received the name of Mundamálá (the necklace of heads). The royal troops in the eastern part of the ráj, having slain a number of Mahomedans,

* Also the name of a Pergunnah.

called that place *Turkhata* (place where the Turks had been cut up). With the destruction of a great number of troops, the kingdom began to decay. The Mahomedans could not be overcome. They subjugated the country as far as Bodá, Pátgrám, and Purbábhág.

In the year 182 of the Ráj Shaká, Jagya Náráin died. He died childless. Darpa Náráin's two sons, Shánta Náráin and Satya Náráin, and Jagat Náráin's two sons Rup Náráin and Bishwa Náráin, became the commanders of the army. Mahendra Náráin reluctantly conferred on Shánta Náráin Konwár the chatra-nazirship; but this appointment did no good at the time. For two years, there had been constant fighting in Bodá Pátgrám, and many people had been slain. The officers in charge of Kárji Hát, Kákiná, Tépá, Manthanájhori, and other pergunnahs, becoming unfaithful to their trust, made themselves the owners of the land, consenting to pay an annual tribute to the Subah, and obtained sunnuds. Mahárájá Mahendra Náráin, after a reign of eleven years, fell sick and died.

CHAPTER XI.

Rup Náráin becomes king. The capital is removed to Behar. Treaty with Zabardast Khan. Death of Shánta Náráin. Establishment of the worship of Sri Sri Madan Mohan. Death of the king.

On the death of Mahárájá Mahendra Náráin, the line of Prán Náráin's descendants became extinct.

No one of this line now survived. Shánta Náráin and Satya Náráin, the two sons of Darpa Náráin who was the son of Gosáin Mahi Náráin who was descended from Lukkhi Náráin, and Rup Náráin and Bishwa Náráin the two sons of Jagat Náráin, were the four persons who possessed the greatest influence. Shánta Náráin desired to become king, but the army was opposed to it, besides which, he was already the Nazir, or Commander-in-Chief. Rup Náráin Konwár, on the other hand, possessing a handsome person, knowledge, piety, wisdom, strength, bravery and a kindly disposition, both the ministers of the State and the officers of the army agreed to make him king. Fortune favoured him, and when Shánta Náráin found that he could not prevail, he too yielded his consent, and prayed that his brother might be appointed Dewán, or chief minister of civil affairs.

By universal consent, Rup Náráin became king—retaining the former reckoning—in the year 185 of the Ráj Shaká, or the year 1101 B. E., or 1616 Shakábdá. Shánta Náráin held the umbrella as chatra-nazir. The money and seals of State were stamped with his name, and the people all brought their nuzzurs in the now coin. On Satya Náráin was conferred the office of Dewán. Rup Náráin the king, Shánta Náráin the Nazir, and Satya Náráin the Dewan Deo, co-operated harmoniously together. The descendants of Bishwa Singha were all called Deo. Thus people speak of the Nazir Deo, the Dewan Deo, or even the Nazir Deotá or Dewan Deotá. The Rájá speaks of them as Nazir Konwár, and Dewan Konwár.

When Mahārāja Rup Nārāin became king, he showed great deference to the former ministers of the State, and conducted the administration through them. The chief minister was called his Khas Nuvis, or Personal Secretary. The Nazir Deo and the Dewan Deo not being paid servants, did not work in immediate connection with the king. One day when the king was seated in Council, suddenly a Sunnyási (religious ascetic) presented himself. The king, as soon as he saw him, saluted him with the usual tokens of respect, and gave him a seat. The Sunnyási after speaking on various religious topics, said: "This is not a fit place of residence for you. Misfortune will overtake you here. Take up your residence at Guryá Hāti on the eastern bank of the Torsā river. There your dynasty will flourish. The place will be named Behar: it is a beautiful place." Saying this the Sunnyási withdrew. Either the Raja distinctly heard the man, or he had only seen a vision; but the result was, that moved by fear, he selected for his capital the spot where the royal palace now stands. It became a delightful place. Brahmans and others came and settled there and it soon became a town. The Nazir Deo founded a city ten miles away from it, and called it Balarámpúr after Balarám, and there he took up his abode. The Dewan Deo lived at Baram Kháuná. At the capital, the Nazir Deo and the Dewan Deo had separate encampments.

The Pargunnahs of Purbba Bhág, Bodá, and Pátgrám had been taken possession of along with the southern country, by the Subah. Mahārāja Rup Nārāin under-

took his first war, but he was unsuccessful. At length he made a treaty with the Nawáb Zabbardast Khan of Dacca, to the effect that Chuklās Bodá, Pátgrām and Purbhā Bhág should belong to the Mahárájá, he paying tribute to the Subah. It being considered derogatory to the king who had an umbrella and a *Pat hasti** and could strike coins, to pay tribute direct, the tribute was paid in the name of Shánta Náráin, in whose name a farm of the land was made out. Still, in the office of the Subah, the money was entered as paid by Shánta Náráin in behalf of Mahárájá Rup Náráin of Behar, on account of Chuklas Bodá; &c. This settlement was made in the year 1118.

Mahárájá Rup Náráin now began to reign in peace. In course of time he had four sons, Upendra Náráin, Narendra Náráin, Vishnu Náráin, and Kharga Náráin. Of these, Narendra Náráin and Vishnu Náráin died in childhood. The Mahárájá seeing that Upendra Náráin was worthy and qualified to rule, named him as the heir-apparent. Shánta Náráin, the Názir Deo, had no sons, and accordingly he adopted Nalit Náráin Konwár, the second son of Bishwa Náráin Konwár, who was the younger brother of the Mahárájá Rup Náráin. Nalit Náráin was worthy to succeed him. The Názir Shánta Náráin died in the year 199 of the Raj-shaká. The Mahárájá mourned greatly for him and appointed his adopted son to the Chatra-nazirship, and took him into favour. The Mahárájá constructed a splendid image of Sri Sri Madan Mohan, and established a

* When an independent king ascends the throne, a male elephant is anointed and called *pat hasti*.

magnificent worship. The image seemed like the living god. The Mahárájá also received in a dream the image of the goddess which is known as Pát Déharā, and still exists.

The Raja was profoundly versed in all religious knowledge and became celebrated for his sanctity. He reigned in peace for 21 years, and then died.

CHAPTER XII.

Accession of Upendra Náráin: Mahomedan inroad incited by Diná Deo: the Mahomedans are defeated by the help of the Bhutias: Birth of Debendra Náráin. Death of Upendra.

Mahárájá Rup Náráin having died in the 205th year of the Ráj-shaká, answering to the year 1121, B.E., and 1636 Shakábdá, the heir-apparent, Upendra Náráin, became king. The Chatra Nazir Nalit Náráin, and Satya Náráin the Dewan Deo agreed together that he should be king. The Názir hold the umbrella, and the coin and seals were struck in the name of Upendra Náráin. The administration was conducted as during the former reign. During Rup Náráin's reign, the Bhutia territory extended to the limit of the mountain range: the Bhutias held no portion of the plains. During Upendra Náráin's reign, however, they began to extend their conquests to the plains, and the Rájá could find no means to prevent them.

Some sort of a war was attempted, but the king and the Názir withdrew from it.

The Mahárájá in course of time married two wives. Of these, the Bara Aí Devati, or Bara Mahá Ráni, possessed great influence. A few days after the new king had ascended the throne, Mahádeo Rái became Khas Nuvis, or Personal Secretary, whose son was the Zemindar of Tepá. This zemindari still exists. An exchange of turbans took place with Prán Náth, the Rájá of Dinagepore, in token of the friendship which was established between them. A few days after becoming a Raja, the Názir Nalit Náráin died childless. The Mahárájá after some reflection appointed the two sons of Hem Náráin the eldest son of Bishwa Náráin Konwár, to be Názirs in succession. Of these, the elder Abhai Náráin died after being nazir for a short time, leaving two sons Bhagabat Náráin and Khagendra Náráin, who were only one month old. Accordingly Abhai Náráin's younger brother, Rudra Náráin, became Nazir Deo. He always remained at the capital.

Mahárájá Upendra Náráin had a favourite dancing girl named Lál Báí, to whom he was greatly attached. It was after her that Lál Bazar was so called. Seeing the king's devotion to her, the Bara Maháráni became incensed, and prohibited the king from entering her inner apartments. She had a female door-keeper named Chápá, who was a woman of such spirit, that not even the king could put her aside and pass into the inner apartments. The Bara Aí Devati, used to live in the royal palace at Behar. The king,

therefore, having erected a smaller residence at Dhalibári, spent most of his time here in company with the Chhota Aí Devati, or second queen.

As a sufficient time had elapsed and the king had had no son, he adopted Din Náráin Konwár, commonly known as Diná Deo, the son of the Dewán Deo, Satya Náráin. As Din Náráin grew up and matured in understanding, the king imposed numerous responsibilities upon him, until the whole administration passed into his hands. The Mahárájá treated him with great favour. But Rudra Náráin the Nazir Deo, counselled Din Náráin as follows : " The king has adopted you, and, shows you great favour. Take a sunnud or written acknowledgment from him that you are to succeed him on the throne, otherwise you will be disappointed in the end, and Kharga Náráin Konwar's son will get the kingdom." Led astray by the counsel, Din Náráin sought to obtain a sunnud through people who were about the king. Meanwhile, however, some religious ascetic had told the king that he would yet have a son of his own body begotten, and the king having this expectation, declined to grant the sunnud. Din Náráin taking his departure in anger went to Rungpore, and arranged with Mahomed Ali Khan the Fouzdar of the Subah of Dacca, that he should advance into Behar with his army and seize the king, and that Din Náráin should become king in subordination to him. Mahomed Ali Khan came with a large army into Behar, accompanied by Diná Deo. The Mahárájá and the Nazir Deo, combined together to resist him. The Dewan Deo did not come. Mahá-

deb Ráya, the Khás Nuvis, fled to his home. It was now that Gouri Nandan Mustafi being for the first time appointed to the office of Khás Nuvis, accompanied the king to Singheswar Jhár, owing to the outrages perpetrated by the Mahomedan troops. The Nazir Deo being defeated in battle, retired to Rángámáti. Mahomed Ali Khan then began to overrun the kingdom. Diná Deo was greatly emboldened. The king remaining at Singheswar Jhár said to his Secretary and to Gowri Prashád Bakshi: "You are the sons of old ministers of state, and are leaders of the royal troops. This is not the time to be indifferent; you must therefore enlist fresh troops and devise means by which these Moslem soldiers may be subdued." Gowri Prashád Bakshi and others, in obedience to the king's wishes, and after much reflection, came to the conclusion that it would not be advantageous to keep the troops massed together in one place. Accordingly, they not only themselves began to collect more soldiers, but made a treaty with the Bhutiás to the effect that they should help the king in time of war. On sending tidings of this matter to the Názir Deo at Rángámáti, the latter also began to enlist troops and attempted to renew the war. Then Gowri Prashád Bakshi having, after much trouble, united together the old soldiers and those recently recruited, and having furnished himself with all the equipments of war, advanced in company with the king from the west. By mutual concert, the Názir Deo advanced with his army from the east. The Bhutiá general also co-operating with them, and marching down from the

north, the three armies came together simultaneously from three different directions, and surrounding Mahomed Ali Khan, re-commenced the war. Many of the Mahomedan troops fell in battle, and Mahomed Ali Khan, accompanied by the remnant of his army, saved his life by flight to Rungpore, the place on which he had previously decided to fall back. No one could tell what became of Diná Deo, or where he went.

The Máharájá having overcome his designing enemies, and being victorious in war, returned with great joy to his capital, and being pleased with the conduct of Gouri Prashád Bakshi whose efforts had beaten back the Mahomedans, appointed him to the office of Khás Nuvis, presented him with a suitable dress of honour, and bestowing on him the privilege of using a kettledrum, and ensign, &c., made his younger brother, Bhawáni Prashád Bakshi, a general of the army. Gouri Prashád having entered upon his duties as Khás Nuvis, discharged them most satisfactorily.

At this time the Bhutiás had taken possession of many places in the north. The king was deterred by fear of Mogul incursions from breaking with the Bhutiás. Satya Náráin the Dewán Deo, had rendered assistance to Diná Deo. For this offence, he was deposed from the office of Dewán, and the king's younger brother Kharga Náráin Konwár was appointed to it. Satya Náráin was now an old man, so he went and lived with the Názir Rudra Náráin at Seoráguri; and his descendants are to be

found there at this day. The Mahárájá Upendra Náráin became a disciple of the Gossain of Sádi Khán. The Gossain resided almost altogether at the capital and, after his death, was succeeded by his son Rámánandan Gossain.

After the king had reigned for a considerable time, the younger queen gave birth to a son, Debendra Náráin. When the child was four years old, the Mahárájá, who by this time had reigned for 49 years, died at his palace at Dhaliábári in the year 254 of the Raj-Shaká, or 1170 B. E., and 1685 Shakábdá. The senior queen was at that time living at Behar. On receiving intelligence of the king's death, she immediately consulted with Gouri Prashád, Gouri Nandan Mustafi, and the other ministers, and taking with her Bhabáni Prashád Bakshi the commander-in-chief of the army, repaired to Dhaliábári. Summoning Rudra Náráin the Názir Deo, and Kharga Náráin the Dewán Deo, she caused Debendra Náráin to be proclaimed king, and then ascended her husband's funeral pyre.

Debendra Náráin becoming king, proceeded to the capital Behar, and there performed his father's shrádh. But as he was still a child, Gouri Prashád the Khás Nuvis, and Gouri Nandan Mustafi, being men of eminence and great reputation, jointly undertook the administration of the kingdom. The seal with the lion had been lost whilst Mahárájá Upendra Náráin was still alive ; but concluding that it would not be proper to have a second seal with the lion, he had in its place a seal with the word "Shri"

impressed upon it. Mahárájá Debendra Náráin became king whilst yet but a child. On pretence of devoting the revenue to the pay of the troops, the Názir Rudra Náráin obtained possession of a large portion of the kingdom. Gouri Náth, the son of Mahárájá Rup Náráin's daughter, held the office of Bara Káit, and was a person of active business-habits. He was 17 or 18 years of age.

CHAPTER XIII.

Growing influence of the Bhutias. Assassination of the young Mahárájá.

At this time Kharga Náráin the Dewán Deo died. He had five sons, Rám, Krishna, Gopál, Gobinda, and Jadumani, otherwise known respectively, as Rám Náráin, Brajendra Náráin, Dhairjendra Narain, Shurendra Náráin and Baikuntha Náráin. To the eldest Rám Náráin was assigned the office of Dewán. He aided the king, but the Bhutias began to extend their authority. By degrees it came to this, that a Bhutiá representative with a number of Bhutias constantly resided at the capital; and without his sanction, no measure of importance could be carried out. Every year, the Subah of the Buxá Doar and some of the leading Bhutiás from the territories of the Deb Rájá, used to come down as far as Chechákhátá. The Mahárájá, with the Názir Deo and the Dewán Deo, used to go to meet them and entertain them at a feast with a view to which they furnished themselves

with pigs, honey and other eatables. The Bantians used to bring presents of horses, kaichin, debangs, shetmála and bhótamála silks, musk, white chowries, walnuts, Bhutia ghee, and Bhutia rice, &c. At the interview with the king at which they made these presents, it was necessary to give them in return presents of money double the value of the presents they brought. After that, they returned to their homes, and the king went back to his capital. Such used to be the practice.

The Rājā succeeded somehow in ruling for two years. There was a Bráhmān living with Rāmānanda Gossain, whose name was Rati Sharmá. He used to live almost all the year round at Balarámpur. The Maharájā was then 6 years old. One afternoon, the Rājā, in company with some boys of his own age, were playing in the neighbourhood of a well which was being dug close to the Asoka tree growing on the north-west of the Pudma Pushkarin, or lotus-tank, which was situated on the south-east side of the palace. They were laughing and enjoying themselves, when suddenly Rati Sharmá appeared on the spot, no one being able to tell from where or how he came; and with a single blow of a sharp sword he immediately struck off the head of the Maharájā. Lifting the head by the hair and carrying it in his left hand, he ran into a brick temple of Chandi that stood on the south-east side of the lotus-tank. The body of the Maharájā, which had been like an image of gold, fell to the ground, and the headless trunk rolled about in the dust. The king's servants who were on the spot, armed with seynitars to guard him,

uttered a loud cry and pursued Rati Sharma, and falling upon this Brahman residing in the temple, some with pikes, some with swords, and others with spears, cut him in pieces in a moment. It was not known why, or at whose instigation, Rati Sharma committed this crime. The palace was filled with lamentations. One of the servants brought the king's head and placed it by the side of the body. The queen mother taking the headless trunk to her bosom, began a loud lament. When Gouri Nandan Mustafi and Gouri Prashad the Khás Nuvis heard of the king's assassination, they were utterly bewildered. Like madmen they hastened to the palace, and began to weep with the other ministers there, who were all plunged in a sea of grief. After a little time, the Khás Nuvis and the chief minister Gouri Nandan Mustafi restraining their grief, gave attention to the necessities of the present circumstances, and sent intelligence of the murder to Rám Narain the Dewán Beg, and to the other officers of state. These hastened to the capital being overwhelmed with grief, and sent a message to the Chatra Názir Rudra Narain.

People speak of Rájá Debendra Narain as the Kátá Rájá (the king whose head was cut off). During this king's reign, that is, in the 245th year of the Ráj Shaká, corresponding to the year 1171, B. E. or the 12th of August, 1765, the Subahs of Bengal lost their authority, and the East India Company came into power. Accordingly, the tribute that had up to that time been paid to the Subahs, was thenceforth transferred to the East India Company.

CHAPTER XIV.

Debendra Náráin ascends to the throne. The Deb Raja causes Rámananda Gossain to be put to death, and appoints Penoutumá to Behar. Influence of the English Deo. His expedition in alliance with the Bhutias to Benares. Conspiracy against him. His assassination.

Maharájá Debendra Náráin was assassinated in the year 256 of the Raj Shaká, corresponding with the year 1172, B. E., or the year 1687 Shakabdá. The Názir Rudra Náráin, on receiving intelligence of the assassination, made a great show of grief, but consulted with his friends saying : "Upendra Náráin's line is now extinct. He has no more sons : why should we make a stranger king ? I will set my brother's son upon the throne. My brother Abhai Náráin's eldest son Bhagabanta Náráin, is lame in his right leg. The younger son Khagendra Náráin is still, it is true, a minor ; but when he comes of age, he will be a powerful ruler." Thus settling the matter in his mind, the Názir, accompanied by four or five thousand soldiers, took up his residence at his own house in Behar.

When Rám Náráin the Dewán Deo heard of what was going on, he began to boast that no one could become king as long as Maharájá Upendra Náráin's brother's son was alive. "If Rudra Náráin the Názir Deo," said he, "persists in a course opposed to law and propriety, there will be a war." Saying this, he joined his own forces to those of

the king, but the united army did not amount to one-fourth part of the Nazir Deo's force. Effar was surrounded with the Nazir Deo's troops. At that time Gouri Náth, the Bara Kait Kárji, who was Maharaja Rup Náráin's daughter's son, was of high repute as a man who, though young in years, possessed great wisdom. The Mustafi as well as Gouri Prashed the Khas Nuvis, counselled him not to act hastily. "Let us," said they, "have an interview with the Nazir Deo, and hear what he says." Having so determined, the Bara Kait Kárji, the Khas Nuvis, and others, went to Rudra Náráin, and received seats suitable to their rank. The Nazir Deo after speaking of other matters, began to talk of who was to be king. He said: "Maharaja Upendra Náráin has no other sons. Hence I propose to make Khagendra Náráin Konwár king." Then Gouri Náth replied: "You are the principal representative and adviser of the family of Maharaja Mahwa Singha, and you have been all along well known as having control over all their affairs. Now you have become aged. No one will be able to dispute what you may do. But there is this one thing. This Rati Sharma living all along at Balarámpur, suddenly comes from there and assassinates the young king. Now if you, setting aside the nephews (brother's sons) of Upendra Náráin, place your own brother's son on the throne, then it will be universally said, that Rudra Náráin the Nazir Deo, being ambitious to obtain the throne in his old age, caused the young king to be assassinated by Rati Sharma, and seized the kingdom. The same

named the Mahārāja. Dehendra Nārāin will be laid at your feet."

The Nāzir Deo remained silent for a while, and then replied: "Well done! You are a young man, but you speak like an old man. You have said well. Whom then, shall we make king?" It was then determined, that as of the five sons of Khārga Nārāin the Dewān Deo, the eldest, Rām Nārāin, already held the Dewān's office, and the second Kṛṣṇa, also called Rājendra Nārāin, had the little finger of his left hand injured, the third son, Gopāl, who was also named Dhairjendra Nārāin, should be made king." The Bara Kāit Kārji, and the Khās Nuvis and others, then came to the Dewān Deo and told him what they had determined. He assented to the proposal, and accordingly Dhairjendra Nārāin became king by universal consent. The Nāzir Deo held the umbrella over him. Money was coined in the Mahārāja's name; and in this money, the Nāzir Deo, the Dewān Deo and the others presented their nummurs. Thus having settled all matters, the Nāzir Deo returned to his place of residence. The Dewān Deo retired to his country-seat.

At this time the Nāzir Deo took charge of the allahs Māthabhāngā and Gitaldoh, &c., in order to pay the troops out of their revenues. Immediately before this, Gauri Prashād the Khās Nuvis, and his brother Bhāpāni Prashād, both died, and their sons, Rājeswar Bakshi and Vishnu Prashād Bakshi were under age. Gauri Nandan Mustāfī undertook the duties of Khās Nuvis, and his younger brother, Sachi

Nandan Mustafi always remained with the Mahārāja, being a great favourite and being highly honoured by him. It was by his counsel that many State measures were carried out.

When the Deb Rājā heard of the assassination of Mahārāja Debendra Nārāin, he was greatly grieved. Learning that Rati Sharmā lived in the same village with Rāmānanda Gossain who had introduced him, and that the sword with which the king had been cut down, belonged to Rāmānanda, he immediately seized the Gossain, and having him conveyed to his capital Punākha, had him there cut in pieces. He then appointed Pensutumā with a number of other Bhutias, to represent his government at the Mahārāja's capital. No business could be done without their consent; and the Bhutias subdued Jalpeswar, Mandush, Jalash &c. No one could save these territories from them. Up to that time, Lakkipur, Santarābāri, Marāghāt, Bhalkā, &c. were included in the kingdom. The Bhutias attacked most fiercely when they were resisted. At this time, Sarbbānanda Gossain came to Behar, and having taught the king the observance of religious rites, became the Rāj Guru. In the year 258 of the Rāj Shakā, the Mahārāja married the Mahārāni Kamateswari Debyā, the sister of Rup Chandra, the Bara Kāit Kārji, together with the five girls, Bhubāneswari Debi, &c. Rudra Nārāin, the Názir Deo, died in 259 Rāj Shakā. The Mahārāja favouring his brother's son, Khagendra Nārāin Konwār, gave him many presents and conferred on him the office of Chatra Názir. Khagendra Nārāin, the Názir Deo, thenceforward

acquired notoriety as one who unjustly put people to death. But the leading man in the State was Rám Náráin the Dewán Deo, and nothing was done contrary to his advice.

In this same year, the Maháráni gave birth to a son, named Dharendra Náráin. The time for the marriage of the Mahárájá's younger sister being at hand, the Dewán Deo wished that she should be married to the Geleng Kárji, but the king desired some other husband for her. There having been considerable contention on this subject, the wishes of the Dewán Deo were finally acceded to. In the year 260 Ráj Shaká, the Mahárájá and the Dewán Deo Rám Náráin received letters from the Deb Rájá, giving information that a war had broken out in Bijaipur, and that the Bhutia troops were about to march thither; and desiring that the Mahárájá would send Rám Náráin the Dewán Deo with an army, that both forces might unite and become victorious in the war. Accordingly, the Dewán Deo having set out with the royal troops, and being victorious in the war, helped the Deb Rájá to establish his authority in the country. Of the plunder that he got there, he gave a small portion as a nuzzur to the Mahárájá, and the remainder he retained for himself. Then Sachinandan Mustafi the royal favorite, Rám Thákur, Kálá Pujári, and Kálá-khánrádhará, who were constantly with the king, and whose counsel the king always listened to, being greatly incensed, said sarcastically to the king: "Rám Náráin Dewán Deo is the real ruler: what he commands is done. You are king in name only."

Your own sister was married, not according to your wish, but according to his. He has kept for himself all the plunder he got in the Bijaipur expedition, and has sent you a little merely to save his own conscience. As long as the Dewán Deo is alive, your rule will be only a nominal one; and to be a king in name only, is a reproach." This was how they spoke to the king every day. The king replied: "What you say is true; but what do you advise to be done?" They then all agreed to put the Dewán Deo to death, and sent word to him that the king was ill. The Dewán Deo being unsuspecting, and not knowing what was in the mind of Sri Sri Bhagaván, came to the palace in the afternoon to see the king. Meanwhile the scheme for his destruction had been matured. The commandant of the king's troops, Gandharba Singha, met him at the outer gate and said: "As the king is ill, let your soldiers remain here." The Dewán Deo ordered his soldiers to wait outside, and entered the house accompanied by five or seven personal attendants. He was stopped at the stone-door by the officer on guard, who told him that the king had ordered that he should not pass through with more than one or two attendants. The Dewán Deo said: "Very good." The king was in a thatched house on the north of the Padma tank; and Rám Thákur, Kálá-pujári, Kálákhánrádhará and others were there armed with weapons. Immediately as the Dewán Deo reached the steps of the house, the people who were there, said: "It is the king's order that you should pass in alone: no one else with be allowed

to enter. On entering the house alone, the Dewán Deo saw that the king was not ill; however, he seated himself as usual before him. The Konwárs of the family of Bishwa Singha were never for a moment without arms, and accordingly the Dewán Deo had a sword hanging from his waist. The Mahárájá addressing him, said: "Brother let me see your sword." The Dewán Deo unbuckled his sword, and suspecting nothing, handed it to the king. The Mahárájá taking the sword in his hand, looked at it once or twice, and then struck the Dewán Deo a blow with it. The Dewán Deo putting out his left arm to defend himself, said to the king: "What is my crime, O king?" That blow had cut off a part of the left arm. The Dewán Deo escaped at the western door into the yard, but as he was in the act of falling, the Kálákharaḍhará and other armed men, according to previous instruction, attacked him with swords, spears, &c., and hacked him to pieces. The soldiers that had accompanied the Dewán Deo were ready to fight, but they were prevented by Gandharba Singha Jemadar, who said: "The king has done an improper thing, and God will punish him. If we fight together, it will only end in our killing and wounding one another." On this the soldiers desisted. There is a tradition that on that day, as well as on the day on which the Mahárájá Debendra Náráin was murdered, a dense mist suddenly arose and darkened the sun, and enveloped the capital for the space of an hour.

CHAPTER XV.

Surendra Náráin succeeds to the vacant Dewanship. The Bhutias scheme to seize the king on occasion of the annual feast. They succeed in making prisoners of the king and the Dewán &c., and convey them into Butan. Rájendra Náráin is conveyed to Behar and made king.

In the year 260 of the Ráj Shaká, or the year 1176, B. E., after the assassination of the Dewán Deo, the Deb^{*} Rájá's ambassador Pénsatumá, knowing it to be imprudent to talk on this subject, made a memorandum of the names of the persons who had given the evil counsel to the king, and taking it with him, secretly returned by Buxá to Punákhá. Gouri Nandan Mustafi was greatly terrified on hearing of this. Rájendra Náráin, who had been a creature of Rám Náráin's, fled through fear to Balarámpur, to Khagendra Náráin, at whose advice he went to Buxá and sent the news of what had happened to the Deb Rájá. The Mahárájá appointed his younger brother, Gobinda, who was also called Surendra Náráin, to the vacant Dewanship. At this time, Sarbbánanda Gossáin coming from Rungpore to the capital, with Kásináth Láhiri, spoke very severely to the Mahárájá. But what good could come of that? What Bhagavat had ordained, had happened.

The Deb Rájá, on receiving the news, concluded that the Mahárájá had become mad, or he would not have murdered the man who had served him so well ;

and so in his anger he determined to depose him, and place Rám Náráin's protégé, Rájendra Náráin, upon the throne. He therefore sent certain leading men of his State with a Bhutia force to Buxá. They pretended to have come to the customary feast given to the Bhutias, and sent a message to the king, requesting him to come in person this year with the Dewán Deo, and entertain them at the feast. The Mahárájá replied that, when for any reason the Mahárájá could not himself be present, it was the practice for his officers of State to attend at the feast; and that as he was sick, his Khás Nuvis and others would go and give the feasts. Messages thus passed and repassed between the king and the Bhutias several times; but the Bhutias would consent to nothing, and threatened that if their request was not complied with, they would not accept the feast at all, inasmuch as the king was wanting to violate an established practice. Sarbbánanda Gossáin and Kásináth Láhiri strongly advised the king not to go. Gouri Nandan the Khás Nuvis said: "Let me go and find out what their secret design is." He accordingly went and had an interview with the Bhutias, but failed to discover their deceitful scheme. Pensatumá came back with him, and swore by the god Mahakál, that no evil was intended. On this the Mahárájá made up his mind to go, and although the Gossáin and the Lahiri repeatedly sought to dissuade him, he rejected their advice.

The Mahárájá now set out for Chochákhátá with the Dewán Deo and others. The Bhutias too with their

troops moved down to the same place. The Mahárájá's party made for the south side of Chechákhátá, while the Bhutias usually occupied the northern side. On arriving at the place on this occasion, however, the Mahárájá observed an extensive encampment of Bhutias on the south of the spot usually occupied by the Mahárájás.

The Nazir was following close behind with the troops. As he passed the camp of the Bhutias, the latter came out and stopped him, saying: "The Deb Rájá has prohibited your passing." The Nazir Deo making no resistance, remained at the spot where his progress had been arrested, and that day said nothing to the king. On the following morning, he said to the king: "You will have to go with the Dewán Deo to Buxá." The Rájá on hearing this remained silent. In a little while, the Bhutias arming themselves for fight and saddling two horses, came to the king and said: "You and the Dewán Deo will be so good as to mount; for you will have to come along with us, whether you are willing or unwilling." They then bound with cords the men who had counselled the assassination of Rám Náráin, and the Mahárájá finding himself helpless, went off towards Buxá. He was accompanied by some Bhutia soldiers, the rest of the men remaining behind.

The Nazir Deo turned back the moment he heard what had happened. Gouri Nandan Mustafi and the others separated and fled to different places. The Bhutia leaders accompanied by a few of their soldiers escorted Rájendra Náráin to Behar. Two days after,

the Bhutias who had charge of the Mahárájá and the Dewán Deo, conveyed them to Punákhá. The Mahárájá and Dewán Deo excepted, iron fetters were placed by order of the Deb Rájá on Rám Thakoor and the rest of the party, and they were thrown into prison. At the close of the day, some dirty rice with *cheká* and dried fish was given them for food. The Mahárájá and the Dewán Deo were carefully guarded on all sides, and were occasionally supplied with food.

The Bhutias who had remained behind, meanwhile took Rájendra to the capital, and made him king; and then leaving Pensatumá with a few soldiers to defend Behar, they retired to their own country.

When the Maháráni and the other females of the royal family heard of what had happened, they were greatly distressed, and beating their heads against the stones and striking their heads with stones, they took Dharendra Náráin, the king's infant son, into the female apartments and there remained. Kásináth Lahíri returned to Rungpore. Sarbbánanda who had not before left Behar, remained back. The Nazir Deo fell into disgrace with the people because, though the servant of the king and the commander-in-chief of the army, he had made no attempt to fight the Bhutias when they were carrying off the king, but had merely sought to save his own life by flight.

CHAPTER XVI.

The country is under Bhutia influence. Mahārāja Rājendra Nārāin is married. He dies after a reign of two years.

Mahārāja Rājendra Nārāin succeeded to the throne in the year 261 of the Rāj-shakā, answering to 1178 B. E., and 1693 Shakābdā. Gouri Nandan Mustafi, the Khas Nuvis, was ashamed to return. The Mahārāja made Haroshwar Kārji his Khas Dewānia, and Jadu Nandan was appointed keeper of the royal treasures. These two men co-operated harmoniously in the administration of the kingdom, but their administration was only in the seeming. In reality, nothing was done without the consent of Pensatumā. All the officers of the state obeyed him, and he did just what he pleased. The Nazir Deo began to find it difficult to keep the country that had been made over to him, and was constantly coming into collision with the Bhutias. Bhutia influence increased greatly, and the king and the Nazir Deo were such only in name. The Mahārāni supported her family and the late king's mother Debāi Satyabhāmā, from the proceeds of her khāmār land and the lands set apart for her maintenance as queen; and whenever an opportunity offered, she sent small sums of money to the Mahārāja.

In this way two years passed. At length arrangements having been made for the reigning Mahārāja's

marriage, invitations were sent out every where. The Nazir came. An invitation was sent to the Deb Rájá with suitable presents, and a Bhutia officer arrived with various gifts in acknowledgment of the invitation. Kásináth Lahíri came from Rungpore. The Gossáin Jiu was already at the capital. At length at the close of the year 262 of the Rájshaká, Mahárájá Rájendra Náráin's marriage was celebrated with great rejoicings. The Nazir Deo, and Baikuntha Náráin Konwar, and the other Konwars, and the sons of the king's daughters who were called Ishar, together with the other relatives and officers of state, brought their presents and then returned to their several homes.

On the fifth day after his marriage, the king was attacked with fever, and on the seventh day he died. The royal household was plunged into mourning. It was his fate, and it could not be avoided. He was called the king Nakhai. He had reigned for two years. During his time the Naraini rupee bore the impression of a flower in addition to the usual stamp. This may still be seen on the rupees of that time.

CHAPTER XVII.

Bhutia influence is overthrown by the Nazir Deo who places Dharendra Náráin on the vacant throne. The Deb Rájá of Bután dispatches a large force, under the command of Jimpé with instructions to seize the entire Bchar territory, which is accordingly done. Bhutia forts are erected every where and the palace is also fortified.

After the death of Rájendra Náráin in the year 262 Ráj-shaká, answering to 1178 B. E. and 1693 Shakábdá, Baikuntha Náráin Kōnwar, whom people called the Chhótá Saheb (younger Saheb) and sometimes the Cháel Kháwá Saheb (the Saheb that eats raw rice), being anxious to succeed to the throne, came to an understanding with Pensatumá, to aid him in his design; and Pensatumá referred to the Deb Rájá to ascertain his views. As the sceptre and umbrella were lodged in the temple of Sri Madan Mohan Thákur, Bhutia guards were placed over the temple to prevent these articles from being taken away. Hareshwar Kárji and Jadu Nandan Bhándár Thákur, were alarmed; and Kásináth Lahíri consulting with the Gossáin Jiu, went, at the Mahárání's desire, to Balarámpur, and informed Khagendra Náráin the Nazir Deo, of the king's death, saying, "If you do not make Mahárájá Dhairjendra Náráin's son, Dharendra Náráin Káchuá, king, then the country must pass into the hands of the Bhutias, and you will

have no peace." The Nazir Deo acknowledged the truth of this remark, and said to them: "Do you go before me and make preparation for the inauguration of the new king: I will follow immediately. If Pensatumá does not give up the sceptre and umbrella, then expel him from the capital."

Then the Lahiri returned to the capital, and got ready the royal seat in the Ranga Mandir (hall of entertainment). Just then, the drum announcing the Nazir Deo's arrival, was heard. Hareshwar Karji and Jadu Nandan withdrew. The Nazir Deo, advancing with a large body of soldiers, made obeisance to the Maharáni, and taking Prince Dharendra Náráin in his arms, entered the Ranga Mandir. Then driving off the Bhutia guard, he brought away the sceptre and umbrella. Baikuntha Náráin Konwar now came to the Nazir Deo and prayed that the office of Dewán might be conferred upon him; but his prayer was refused on account of his former conduct. The money and seal were henceforward stamped with the name of the new king, who now ascended the throne. The Nazir Deo held the umbrella, and presented his nuzzur in the new coin. The royal order was then given to perform the shrádh of the deceased king. Kasinath Lahiri was, by order of the Maharáni, appointed Khas Nuvis; and the Nazir Khagendra Náráin, after placing Dharendra Náráin on the throne, returned to Balarampore.

The Gossain and the Khas Nuvis conducted the business of the State under the orders of the Maharáni. The Nazir Deo, however, desired to have the govern-

spent in his own hands, and consequently difficulties arose. The Nazir began to be envious of the Gossain. The government went on thus for three months. Meanwhile Pensatamá, after the Mahárájá Dharendra Náráin had been placed upon the throne by the Nazir Deo, made his escape by Buxa and told the Deb Rájá of all that had happened. The Deb Rájá on hearing what he had to say, replied: "The Nazir Deo as compared with me is but a slave: can he make any one whom he likes king?" He then sent three *katuns* of soldiers, that is 3840 soldiers, through the Buxa Dwár. The vanguard had already reached Chéchá-khátá, when the Nazir Deo sent forward his elder brother Bhagabanta Náráin, who had a broken leg, but who fought well on horse-back. The two forces met together and a severe fight ensued. Some of the king's soldiers were slain, but the slaughter among the Bhutias was immense. The Bhutias fled back to their mountains and sent the news of their defeat to the Deb Rájá. Meanwhile, the main body of the Bhutia force continued their march towards the plains. The Nazir Deo on being informed of this, in his anxiety brought away the Mahárájá Dharendra Náráin with the Rájmátá Maháráni and all the royal family, to Balarampore, and began to collect troops. The Gossain and Khas Nuvis, after placing the king at Balarampore, went to Rungpore to fetch soldiers. They first dispatched Rupan Sing Jemadar with some troops to Behar, and levying other troops, forwarded them thither also. The Nazir Deo had about 3000 royal troops under his command. There were three

or four hundred soldiers to guard the treasury and palace. Besides these, five or seven hundred new men were enlisted. Altogether, there were not more than 4000 troops. Of these, some were armed with swords and shields, others with bows and arrows, others with muskets, and others again, with spears. There were also some guns. But the soldiers were not trained men. They had with them horses and elephants. The Nazir Deo was in chief command, and he was accompanied by his brother Bhagabanta Konwar, and the Gossain Jiu and the Khas Nuvis.

As they advanced towards the north, detachments were located at various points on the line of march, to form encampments. In the meantime, the Deb Rájá collecting together all the soldiers that guarded the eighteen *Dwars* that led into his territory, made up an army of 16 *kahuns*, or 17,280 men. Placing his sister's son Jimpé, in command, he instructed him to seize the entire Behar territory, set up a king, and slay the Maharájá, the Nazir Deo, and the Gossain, if they could be caught. The soldiers were able-bodied men, and they were all mad for battle. Some of them wore iron-helmets, called by them *luyás*. Over their clothes of many colours they also wore chain armour; and each man had two Bhutia knives suspended from his waist. In their hands they carried bows and arrows. Some of them also had muskets, but they were not skilled in the use of this weapon. They could fight well, when at a distance, with bows and arrows. At close quarters, they could fight incomparably with their knives. No nation could equal

them in the use of short weapons. Besides this, each man held in his hand a wooden spike six cubits long, pointed at one end. These spikes were, at night, planted round the place of encampment, and served as a defence. In the morning, on breaking ground, each man carried away his own spike.

The Bhutia soldiers began to descend in thousands from the Buxa Dwár, the Lukkipore Dwár, and the Haldibari Dwár, and the other passes on the south side of Bootan. The numerous encampments which had been formed as the Máharájá's troops advanced, were surrounded by the Bhutias. Both sides suffered severe loss. The Bhutias then advanced to Sanjáminipuri. By degrees the king's troops gave way in all directions, and the Bhutias being victorious, overran the country. The Gossain and the Khas Nuvis going to Balarampore with the Nazir Deo, removed the Mahárájá, the Rájmátá, the Maháráni and others to Pángái, and themselves escaped to Rungpore. The Nazir Deo sent his family to Rangámáti, and remained with a few soldiers, sometimes at Balarampore, and sometimes at different places in British territory. Jimpé at length reached Behar and attacked the capital. He then made Bijendra, the son whom Ram Narain Deo had left, Raja, and sent him to remain at Chechákhata. The boy being unable to bear the water and climate of that mountainous region, died.

The Bhutias built forts in various parts of Behar, among which were the forts of Chitáldahá, Báládánga, and Nawámári, where now the Shákáti market is

held. Constructing a fortification around the royal palace in the town of Behar, Jimpé himself occupied it with a strong Bhutia force. There were also forts at Marághát and Lukkipore. Thus the entire territory of Behar was dotted with forts. In Jimpé's army, there were Bhutias from the northern portion of Bootan, who were half as tall again as ordinary men, and were of very fair complexion, and spoke a dialect unintelligible to the southern Bhutias. Their habits were like those of beasts. They were constantly drinking intoxicating liquors, and eating flesh. In fact, they were cannibals. To supply them with food, Jimpé used to keep Behari men, women, children, and young men, in pens, as one does sheep and goats. When the flesh of other animals was not procurable, some of these wretches were slain and converted into food.

Jimpé took up his residence in the Ranga Mandir of the palace, and opening a secret path to and from the palace where there had been none previously, he planted across the public road, and all round the palace, chevaux-de-frise composed of poisoned stakes. This was a wonderful device. Bamboo stakes two or three inches long and poisoned at their pointed ends, were planted every here and there. Any one happening to get his feet pierced by them, died immediately. There was no remedy for him. There had been *simul* and other trees growing round the palace. The intervals between these trees were filled up with timbers planted in the ground, so as to form a strong fortification. In this way the Bhutias held the country. The only zillah throughout Behar that retained

its independence, was that of Rahimgunge, which was held by Rupan Sing Jemadar with the help of some of the Mahárájá's burkundazes. The revenues of the zillah were expended in the payment of the troops, and the little that remained over, was sent to defray the personal expenses of the Maháráni.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Mahárájá applies to the English for help in expelling the Bhutias. The English agree on condition of payment of an annual tribute. Mr. Purling arrives with a small sepoy force, dislodges the Bhutias from all their strongholds, and restores the authority of the Mahárájá.

The Bhutias seized the entire kingdom of Behar. The Nazir Deo Khagendra Náráin, the Gossain, and the Khas Nuvis had not the courage to make war with them without foreign help. Of the troops they had owned, some had been slain, and others had run away. The few that remained, finding themselves without resource, advised that the help of the East India Company which now governed Bengal, should be sought. Kasinath Lahiri went to Dinagepore, at the desire of the Maháráni, with a letter from the Mahárájá Dharendra Náráin. The Company's agent at this place was a Mr. Harris, to whom this letter was delivered, with the proposal that the Mahárájá

should pay the Company a lac of rupees, on condition that the latter would send troops to expel the Bhutias and free his country. Mr. Harris entertained the Khas Nuvis with honour and respect, and sent an English translation of the Mahárájá's letter to Mr. Hastings, the Governor-General. The matter being considered in Council, the following answer was returned to Mr. Harris: "The Company does not give its services for hire. If the Mahárájá will consent to pay an annual tribute, then the Company will rid the country of its enemies and restore it to the Mahárájá, and will always protect it." •

Kasinath Lahiri lost no time in writing this news to Behar. The Nazir Deo and the Gossainjee, at the command of the Maháráni, went to Dinágepore, and drew up a treaty which the Nazir Deo signed with the name of the Mahárájá, and affixed thereto the Mahárájá's seal. This document was sent down to Calcutta where it was signed by Mr. Hastings. There were two copies made, one of which remained with the Rájá, and the other with the Company. It is not necessary to reproduce the terms of the treaty in this history. The result was, that the country passed under the shadow of the Company, and the Mahárájá consented to pay the tribute agreed upon.

After this, Mr. Purling came from Calcutta in command of a regiment of sepoy and four guns, and went by Rungpore to Mogul Hát. The Nazir Deo, the Gossain and the Khas Nuvis came to meet him, and accompanied the troops. Bhagabanta Nárain Konwar was now ready to fight at the head of the

Nazir Deo's troops. Mr. Purling sent word to the Bhutias, that he would attack their fort at 10 o'clock on the following morning if they did not vacate it, and they must be prepared to fight. The Bhutias were carelessly distributed over the town. On the following day, Mr. Purling and his captains and lieutenants crossed the Dhablá river with their troops; but Bhagabanta Konwar, without waiting for their arrival, began an attack on the fort of Gitaldahá. By the will of God, and the moment being a fortunate one, the Bhutias in this attack by Bhagabanta Konwar, were, some of them, destroyed, whilst the remainder being defeated, escaped to the fort of Báládángá. The English officer, however, being displeased, requested of the Nazir Deo, the Gossain and the Khas Nuvis, that no movement of any kind should be undertaken without his sanction. On that day, leaving the fort of Dinhatá behind, the English took rest. On the following day, leaving the Nazir Deo and others, the English commander advanced with one company of sepoy covering four guns. On approaching the Báládángá fort, the Bhutias crowded out and seeing a file of sepoy, rushed upon them, some attacking them with bows and arrows, and others with muskets. Others, again, mounting horses made towards the sepoy, with a view to cut them down with their swords. The officer in command, however, instead of ordering his men to fire, commanded them to run in a southerly direction. The sepoy in a body ran off and the Bhutias believing that they were fleeing, pursued them. As soon as the Company's

troops had got to the south of the guns, and the Bhutias being on the north were facing the guns, a sudden cannonade was opened upon them. Like the dry leaves of a forest when they are set on fire during the prevalence of a strong wind, the Bhutias fell, and were destroyed by hundreds. The rest fled, some being drowned in the Bhetaguri *heel*, and others escaping across the Mansái river to the Máwamári fort.

The English having seized the Báládángá fort, remained there that day. On the following day, sending for the Nazir Deo, the Gossain and the Khas Nuvis, the English commander dispatched a company of sepoy to Nazirgunj, that they might there cross the Mánsái river; and ordered Bhagabanta Narain Konwár to move with his troops in the same direction by 10 o'clock, so as to reach the eastern side of the fort. Meanwhile, Mr. Purling with two companies arrived at the Kásiábári ghát on the banks of the river Mánsái. When Bhagabanta Konwár advanced to the fort from the east, the Bhutias began to fight; but as soon as there came into view a company of sepoy advancing from the east, and two other companies from the west, half the Bhutias escaped along the Bhuchunga road to the Poshta forest; and of the others, some fled to the fort at Behar, and a few were killed. The English officers only occasionally ordered their men to fire: in most cases, the Bhutias fled through mere fear. In the afternoon of that day, the English encamped on the northern side of the Debái's tank. Two companies of sepoy were posted

on the south of the palace, where the Dewán's house now stands. Two companies encamped on the north of Khagrabari. The Bhutias taking refuge within the fortification they had constructed around the palace, shut the gate. At night, when the English spies attempted to get near in order to learn what was going on, three of them got their feet pierced with the poisoned stakes, and died. But the others returned with information.

Jimpé getting together his Bhutia soldiers, addressed them thus: "I cannot show myself to the Dob Rája after suffering defeat. Let those of you who fear to lose your lives, escape; let those who do not care to keep them, remain with me. There is nothing left us but to fight and die, but we shall at all events so gain fame." That night two thousand Bhutias fled, breaking through the barriers on the north-western side. The sepoy got scent of this, but the English commander would not let them destroy men who were fleeing for their lives. On the following morning, the English officers mounting their horses, reconnoitred the fort on three sides, and found that on the western side there was the river Toorsa. Having heard of the poisoned stakes, they set men to collect together some hundreds of plantain trees which they flung upon the stakes, treading them down well upon them. When the trees were withdrawn these short stakes came up with them, and in this way, the ground was cleared. On the following morning, the English officers appeared with their troops at the eastern gate, and some sepoy broke in at the north-east corner;

but they could effect nothing, for they were immediately slain by the Bhutias. But when the gate was burst open by the fire of the guns, the sepoy's rushed into the fort, and got to the west of the Ghurrikhana. Here the Bhutias began to fall like moths into a flame. Jimpé, on perceiving this, and being perfectly careless as to his own life, fell upon the English troops with 20 or 25 northern Bhutias, with such suddenness that it was impossible to tell whether they had been borne thither by the winds, or had dropped from the sky. How shall I describe the manner in which they fought with their short swords? The sepoy's using the bayonet succeeded now and again in slaying an enemy; but the Bhutias fired their muskets with their left hands, and attacked the sepoy's with the small swords which they held in their right. By degrees, however, they were obliged to succumb, some having been shot, others having been thrust through with the bayonet, and others again having been despatched with the sword.

Jimpé received twenty wounds in various parts of his body, and even after he had fallen to the ground, he kept waving his sword in the air. An English officer went up and offered to help him by procuring surgical aid; but all that Jimpé asked for, was some spirits to drink. The officer at once gave him some brandy, and Jimpé drank it and expired. The English measured the height and the size of each limb of the gigantic men that had fought by his side, for there had never been seen such powerful men before.

The Bhutias being defeated, fled. Some were

drowned in the Toorsa, and about a hundred or more voluntarily gave themselves up. The sepoy took away as plunder all the weapons left by the enemy in the fort. The Rájá's flag was set up side by side with the Company's, and the drums of victory were beaten. The Nazir Deo, the Gossain and the Khas Nuvis presented themselves. Messengers were dispatched for the Rájmatá, the Maharáni, and the Mahárájá, who arrived at the capital on the third day; but being unable to occupy the palace which was choked with the slain, they had houses erected for themselves on the spot now occupied by the residence of the Dewán Deo. In the mean while, the palace was cleansed and re-consecrated. Mr. Purling had an interview with the Maharaja, and remained in Behar five days. On the sixth day, leaving two companies of sepoy at Behar under the command of a Captain and Lieutenant for the protection of the Mahárájá, he set off with the rest of his troops in a northerly direction, being accompanied by the Nazir Deo, the Gossain, and the Khas Nuvis. A company of sepoy was dispatched to Jalpeshwar.

The Blutias had deserted the forts they had constructed in various parts of the country, and had fled back to their mountains; and thus quiet was restored throughout the kingdom. On the third day, the Saheb arrived with his troops at the Buxa Dwar, and set fire to the palisades. The men who had been left in charge of them fled, and the Saheb leaving a company of sepoy at the place, moved on to Chéchákhátá, where he encamped.

CHAPTER XIX.

The release of Rájá Dhairjendra Náráin, and his fellow captives. He declines to resume the government. Distribution of the revenues. Death of Dhurendra Náráin.

It was in the year 263 of the Shaká, answering to 1694 Shakábdá, to the year 1279 B. E., and to the year 1772 of the English reckoning, that the kingdom of Cooch Behar came under the protection of the Company, and the Bhutias were expelled. Mr. Purling having arrived at Chéchákhátá, reported his victory to the Governor-General in Council; and as the Bhutias had evacuated Behar and had retired to their mountains, he asked whether he should follow them into the mountains; adding that, in this case, he would require more troops. To this he received reply, that the Company had no desire to invade Bhootan, "If," the letter went on to say, "the Deb Rájá will release the Mahárájá Dhairjendra Náráin and his brother Shurendra Náráin the Dewán Doo, together with all those who are in captivity with them, and will consent that each party should remain in possession of the territories held by them respectively before the war, then you may make a treaty with him." Before this letter arrived, however, the Bhutias had shewn anxiety for a treaty of peace. The Deb Rájá on hearing the decision of the Government, was greatly relieved. His Primo Minister settled the terms of the treaty with the Company; and the Deb Rájá visiting Dhair-

jendra Náráin, presented him with eight hill ponies, sundry rich garments and other valuable gifts, and accompanied him, the Dewán Deo, and the rest of the captives as far as Chéchékhátá on the Buxa road.

As soon as the Nazir Deo and the others heard of the approach of the Mahárájá, they hastened to meet him with presents. The Rájá addressing the Nazir Deo, said : " Oh Nazir ! why did you give the kingdom to the Company ? Where a kingdom whose elephants and coin have been given by God, pays tribute to a foreign state, how can the king be said to have the umbrella over him ?" The Nazir Deo replied : " We consented to pay tribute to the Company, O Maháráj, just in order to release you and the kingdom from the hands of the enemy." The king rejoined : " I have received the reward of my former actions.* It had been better that Bishwa Singha's line of descent should be exhausted, or that some other king should rule, than that I, an independent king, should acknowledge allegiance to another ?" After saying this, the king was silent, and however much the people about him spoke, he said not a word.

The party accompanied by a military escort, at length arrived at the town of Behar. The Gossain Jiu and the Khas Nuvis sought by every means to restore the ex-king's equanimity. They besought him to be shaved ; they even asked him to resume his throne ; but he refused. " Dharendra Náráin," said he " is king : let him rule." So saying, he gave himself

* That is, actions in a former state of existence.

up to the contemplation of Bhagavati. Only Shachinandan Mustafi, Rám Thakur, Kálá Pujári and a few others, were occasionally permitted to have an interview with him.

Mr. Purling leaving a company of sepoy's under the command of a captain, returned to Rungpore where he dismissed the troops. After a while, that is, in the year 264 .Shaká, answering to 1180 B. E. and 1778 of the Christian era, he went again into Behar, and having collected the revenues, settled to receive a lac of rupoes a year as tribute. This sum was a little less than half the total revenue. The administration of the kingdom was in the hands of the Maharáni. The Khas Nuvis took an under-lease calculated on the basis of the papers showing the revenue, so that the quantity of land held by each man could be ascertained by means of the proceeds. The Maharájá held a 5 annas and $17\frac{1}{2}$ gundas' share of the land, and a one anna share was under the control of the Nazir Deo. The officers of the king considered, however, that this large extent of land had been appropriated to the expense incurred by the army; but that as the country had now come under the shadow of the Company, and it was not necessary to support an army, there was no reason why the Nazir Deo should keep it under his control. Being a powerful man, however, no one had the courage to speak to him on this subject. They, therefore, contented themselves with making occasional encroachments on the Naziran land, on the plea that they were acting under the Maharáni's orders. The Nazir Deo being

informed of what it all meant, laughed and said : “ I have set up the child to be king, and the kingdom shall be governed according to my wishes. Sarbbá-nanda Gossain is, the king’s spiritual adviser : what has he to do with the administration ? ” Matters went on in this way from day to day. The Nazir Deo’s Dewán, Rám Chunder Rái, had a son named Shyam Chunder Rái, who had now grown up and was qualified for work. Kássináth Lahiri governing the kingdom on three sides, paid the tribute to the Company ; and as for the rest, the people were suffered to retain for themselves the proceeds of their respective lands.

At the close of the year 265 Shaká, the Mahárájá Dharendra Náráin fell ill of a fever and died. This was a great grief to the Maháráni. The Gossain Jiu, the Khas Nuvis and the other ministers persuaded the Mahárájá Dhairjendra Náráin to re-ascend the throne.

CHAPTER XX.

Dhairjendra Náráin resumes the government. He undertakes a pilgrimage. The Nazir Deo’s treatment of the Gossain.

Mahárájá Dhairjendra Náráin again became king at the close of the year 265 Shaká, answering to 1181 B. E. and 1775 A. D. : but he neglected his kingdom

for the sake of religious devotions. If at any time the Khas Nuvis presented before him money in coin, and shawls or other garments, he immediately ordered them to be given away. He did not retain a single cowri. The work of administering the kingdom was carried on by the Gossain and the Khas Nuvis under the orders of the Mahārání. Every day the breach between the Gossain and the Nazir Deo widened, and the Gossain ceased to visit Bolarampore. Two years after, in the year 267 Shaká, Mr. Lambert came to Dinagepore. A man by the name of Balarám Basu was his Dewán. The Mahārāja, the Nazir Deo, the Gossain, the Khas Nuvis, and Shyám Chunder Rái came to Dinagepore to have an interview with Mr. Lambert. The latter accompanied by his attendants, met the Mahārāja and shook hands with him, and then turned and asked a few questions of the Nazir Deo. At the fourth question, the Nazir Deo suddenly turned away, and said in his native tongue: "I am not a man of many words, Sir." Mr. Lambert asked what the Nazir Deo was saying. The Khas Nuvis replied: "It is late, and he wishes to return to his lodgings." To this Mr. Lambert immediately assented, and the party receiving their dismissal went back to Behar.

After some days, Mr. Purling starting from Dinagepore, again came by Rungpore into Behar. The officer formerly in charge of the three *chuklas*, Boda, Patgram, and Purbba-bhág, was Rám Chunder Rái, who was succeeded by his son Shyám Chunder Rái. These men appropriated the revenues to themselves, making

a small payment to the Nazir Deo, and now and then sending a trifling sum to the Mahárájá. The former managers of those chuklas were Fakir Chand in Boda, Debi Prosad in Patgram, and Ali Mahomed in Purbba-bhág. When the fiscal officers in charge of Kazi Hát and other places, assumed the position of zemindars, the Chowdhries were no longer able to control their zemindary, and contenting themselves with a small subsidy, they transferred the management of the chuklas to the State. Fakir Chand, Debi Prosad and Ali Mahomed laid a complaint before Mr. Purling against the Nazir Deo, and that gentleman decided that the chuklas belonged to the Mahárájá, and that the Nazir Deo and the Chowdhries were no body. Shyam Chunder Rái, by some underhand means, kept this decision secret, and the lands remained with him as before. The sahib's Dewán at that time was Brahma Rái, with whom there had also come a man named Bháyá Srishtidhar; and there was a *Sajwal* engaged to receive the State-subsidy in cash. The Bháyá had first come to Behar to undertake this business.

The influence of the Nazir Deo increased day by day, and he did exactly as he pleased. He came occasionally to Behar. During one of these visits, a quarrel suddenly arose between his people and those of the king about a jug of milk, and the parties came to blows. When the Gossain Jiu heard of it, he seized some of the Nazir Deo's men and had them beaten before him. The moment this was reported to the Nazir Deo, the latter flamed up like fire when ghee is thrown upon it, and seizing the Gossain, he beat him

so severely that the latter was unable to rise from the ground. That same day, the Nazir Deo returned to Balarampore and released the Gossain.

Just then the Mahārājā set out on a pilgrimago. This occurred in the year 268 Shākā, answering to 1184 B. E. Suddenly one day the Mahārājā said to the people that were about him: "I am going on a pilgrimago: let all who wish to accompany me, do so." So saying, he started off on foot. The Kālā-pujari and three or four other Brahmans, together with eight servants, went along with him. The Mahārāni, on hearing what the king had done, began to utter lamentations. The Gossain and the Khas Nuvis went after the Mahārājā, and earnestly entreated him to return. But their expostulations were in vain. They then wanted to furnish him with horses, litters, tents, &c.; but he would have nothing. They persisted, however, in supplying him with a horse, a litter, a few armed men, and a little money. These were sent with him, to some extent without his knowledge. The Mahārājā travelled on foot, resting occasionally under a tree, on a tiger or deer skin. In this way he reached Dinagopore. There the Rājā Baidyanāth had an interview with him and brought him many presents; but he would receive nothing. When the Rājā entreated him to receive the presents, he only replied: "Distribute them among the poor." On reaching the Ganges he performed a shrādh and other ceremonies, and then proceeded to Gya. After performing a shrādh there, he wrote to the Gossain and the Khas Nuvis, ordering gifts of bramhottur land and

large sums of money to be bestowed on the Brahmans of Gya. He then went on to Benares where he distributed many gifts, and bestowed lands on Brahmans. After this, he returned to his own country. The king was accompanied back by all his attendants. His mind had in great measure recovered its healthy tone.

Not long after the king's return, Shurendra Náráin the Dewán Deo was to be married. Invitations were sent out every where. The Gossain Jiu and Khas Nuvis came from Rungpore. The Nazir Deo accompanied by a military escort came too, and put up in his own tent. The guests all met for the wedding. The Maháráni watched the ceremony from one of the rooms of the female apartments. Since Mr. Purling's time, there had always been a detachment of the Company's troops stationed at the capital, and placed under the orders of the Maháráni. Sometimes it consisted of an entire company, sometimes of 40 men, sometimes of 20 men. The Gossain Jiu with others had taken their seats in the wedding assembly; but being afraid of the Nazir Deo, he had ordered the sepoys not to admit many men with the Nazir Deo, except they had special orders from the Maháráni. When the Nazir Deo arrived at the gate, he was accompanied by two or three hundred armed men for whom he wanted admittance to the marriage ceremony. The sepoys stopped them. The Nazir Deo being highly incensed, refused to go in to the wedding, and ordering his drum to be beaten, returned to his tent. He then said to some of his men :

“ This insult has come from the Gossain : bind him and bring him to me.” Accordingly, a party of his men entered the assembly, and binding the Gossain’s feet together with cords, ran a bamboo beneath the fastening, and dragged him away as they would a carcass. The rest of the guests fled in consternation. The king had not yet arrived. As soon as he heard of what had occurred, he rushed forth with a drawn sword to the cross road up to which the Gossain Jiu had been dragged. On seeing the Mahárájá, the Nazir Deo’s people left the Gossain and fled. The Mahárájá cutting the strings that bound the Gossain’s feet, stooped to the earth and made obeisance to him, and then, without a word, turned back to the palace. The Gossain following him returned to his own lodgings, and the Nazir Deo without delay withdrew to Balarampore.

CHAPTER XXI.

A son is born to the Raja. The Nazir Deo and Shyam Chunder Rai imprison the Gossain and Khas Nuvis who, however, ultimately contrive to escape to Rungpore. The king makes his will and then dies.

It was a matter of great grief that the Mahárájá had no son ; and the king was in constant fear lest the Nazir Deo should at some moment seize the kingdom. There had been daughters born to the king when, at last, in the year 270 Shaká, answering to

1762 Shakabda and 1186 B. E., at a fortunate juncture in the month of Falgoon, a son was born. Just as the solar race was lighted up by the birth of Rám Chandra, and the lunar race by that of Basu Deb, so the race of Bishwa Singha was lighted up by the birth of this prince. The Maharájá falling into raptures at the sight of his son, ordered gifts to be distributed. The birth was celebrated with singing and dancing, and was announced by the firing of guns. On the seventh day, the pundits and astrologers met together, and having ascertained under what conjunction of the stars the birth took place, announced that the prince would be long lived and would enjoy an uninterrupted reign ; that his enemies would be destroyed ; that he would be as wise as Hara, as great a king as Indra, and as compassionate as Náráin. He was accordingly named Sri Sri Harendra Naráin. Some said that Bishwa Singha, and others that Nar Náráin, had been born again in him ; but I say that it was predicted in the Yogini Tantra that the residents of Kailás should take birth in the race of Bishwa Singha and hold the kingdom,—so gifted and glorious, so adorned with all great qualities and wisdom was this prince. .

Thus the prince grew day by day. At length the Gossain and the Khas Nuris came from Rungpore to celebrate the ceremony of feeding him for the first time with rice. At that time, there was a Mr. Goodlad appointed to the zillah of Rungpore. Shyám Chunder Rai finding favour with him, made him believe that the king entirely neglected public affairs, and that the real management of the kingdom

was in the hands of the Nazir Deo. In 1187, Shyam Chunder Rai, and the Nazir Deo came to Behar and seized the Gossain and Khas Nuvis, demanding of them the papers containing the accounts of the former revenue of the kingdom. Every day they subjected them to some fresh insult. Their people were seized and bound, some with chains, some with cords. Kali Sharan Lahiri and Jiban Krishna Lahiri were concealed by the Mahārāni in the inner apartments, and making their escape after two days through a window of the zenana, they, accompanied by a couple of slave girls, crossed the borders of Behar and went to Rungpore. The Gossain and Khas Nuvis meanwhile lay bound with iron fetters. Their vakeels unceasingly entreated the saheb to interfere, but he would scarcely listen to them. And when he did hear them and wrote a letter requiring the Gossain and Khas Nuvis to be sent to Rungpore, the letter received no attention. At last, one day, Rām Chuckerbutty and some other vakeels threw themselves at the saheb's feet and wept, saying that they could not tell whether the Gossain and Khas Nuvis were even still alive. The saheb then ordered eight sepoy to go and bring them away. The sepoy went accompanied by two of the vakeels, as far as Mogul Hāt; but just at this time, Shyam Chunder Rai returning to Rungpore persuaded the saheb to recall them. The Gossain having bribed the havildar who was on guard over them with five thousand rupees, they reached Rungpore in their fetters that same night. The saheb's Dewān at the time was Krisna Prosad, commonly

known as Dátá Rám. He prevented their being released, and they accordingly remained in imprisonment for some days. In consequence of the curse of the Khas Nuvis, Dátá Rám and almost all his family were destroyed within eight days. After this, the saheb released the Gossain and Khas Nuvis.

Meanwhile, Shyam Chunder Rái acting under the command of the Nazir Deo, began to perpetrate great outrages in the kingdom, and some of the officers of the Rájá's government seizing Nil Govind Lahiri, beat him so severely that he could not stand upright for the rest of his life. They also severely beat Dharmma Náráin Rái and Dharmma Náráin Mukhurjya. The Nazir Deo filled all the people with fear. The Gossain Jiu and the Khas Nuvis greatly entreated the saheb on this subject, but he would not listen to them. At last appointing Hari Prosad Sircar and Janoki Rám Sircar as their vakeels, they sent them to Calcutta with letters to the Governor General; but as Mr. Goodlad also wrote, their prayer was not attended to.

Thus some time passed. At length in the year 274 Ráj Shaká, answering to 1190 B. E., the king began to suffer greatly from bodily weakness. His physicians could do nothing for him, and in the month of Aughran, on the afternoon of the day on which he died, he said: "Have the image of Sri Sri Madan Mohan brought in and placed before me. Let my son be also brought in." After these orders had been obeyed, the king desired a wasyut-nama (will) to be drawn up, the substance of which was, that the young

prince Harendra Náráin should, on his decease, be king of Nij Behar and the chuklas; that Sibendra Náráin the Dewán Konwar, being in high favour, should continue in his former position; and that as long as the prince remained too young to govern, the country should be administered by the Maháráni.

NOTE.—It is perfectly clear that the statement here made is false. The Gossain's party before the Commissioners of Enquiry deputed in 1788, deposed that the Raja, *two days* before his death, caused a paper to be written; but their statements are palpably false. Each of the witnesses examined gives his statement in the same words, and certainly, as is well known, the Rajas of Kooch Behar of old never called on any living man to attest their seals and they never signed their names. Dhairjendra, it is well known, was insane, and at this day he is called the Pugla (mad) Raja. Vide, Commissioner's printed Reports, Cooch Behar Select Records, Vol. II, pp. 9-11-147-153-186.—*Col. Haughton.*

PART III.

THE CONTEMPORARY OR MODERN PERIOD.



CHAPTER I.

Harendra Narain becomes king : the Nazir Deo's ambitious schemes are defeated.



Mahárájá Dharmendra Náráin died in the year 274 Ráj-shaká, answering to 1190 B. E., 1705 Shakábdá, and the year 1199 of the Hegira, in the month of Aughran. At the time of his death, the Gossain and Khas Nuvis were still retained as prisoners at Rungpore at the instigation of Shyam Chandra Roy. Sachi Nandan Mustafi, Sib Prasád Mustafi, Rup Chandra the chief Kaet Karji, Vishnu Prasád Bakshi, Joygobinda Láhiri, Dharmma Náráin Mukhopádhyá, Raghu Nath Bakshi, Krishna Nandan the Bhándár Thákur and others were officers of the State in Behar. These men being of one mind consulted together as follows : “ The Nazir Deo has all along been aiming at regal power, and we now hear that he intends to bring his son and make him king. We cannot believe that he will place the king’s son on the throne.” There were twelve sepoy sent by the Company under Jital Singh Havildar, who were under the orders of the Maharani. Coming to an understanding with them, they con-

vayed to these men the Maharani's order that some of their number should be selected to mount guard over the sceptre and umbrella, and others at the door of the inner apartment; and that except by an order from the Maharani, they were not to let the sceptre and umbrella be taken away, or suffer any one to enter the inner apartment. Having arranged this, these officers of the State then turned their attention to the preparations for inaugurating the new king.

The Nazir Deo, however, having already had intimation of the king's death, set out for Behar with his son Birendra Narain Konwar and four or five thousand troops. As soon as his drum began to be heard in the capital, the officers of State mentioned above, influenced by fear began to escape in every direction; but they did not go far. When the Nazir Deo came to the palace and understood what was going on, he desisted from his purpose of making his own son king, and seeing Kalánáth the Dharmádhya, and Kholáráam Jámdárya there, he asked them if all the preparations for the inauguration of the new king had been completed. To this they replied that all the preparations had been made. He then went away to fetch the young prince from the inner apartment. The sepoys on guard at the door said: "You cannot pass in without the Maharani's orders." The Nazir Deo replied: "The late king was my paternal uncle, and the Maharani is my aunt: the king's inner apartments are mine. To place the Company's soldiers at the door and prohibit me from entering, is manifestly the device of some wicked people. I

make no one king, neither will I enter the inner apartment." So saying, the Nazir Deo ordered his drum to be beaten, and immediately returned to his own residence at Bolorampore. On his way back, wherever he happened to meet one of the king's servants, he bound him and carried him off. The Maharani was greatly disturbed in mind, and knew not what to do. The officers of State of whom mention has been previously made, met together, but were at a loss what steps to take.

Then the Devai Satya Bhámá, that is, the mother of the late king, being grieved at finding no means of saving the kingdom, herself set off in a litter for Bolorampore, talked over the Nazir Deo and brought him away on the following day. As a flock of birds immediately fly away all together, the moment they see the king-bird among them fall, so the officers of State aforementioned, fled hither and thither the moment they heard the drum announcing the Nazir Deo's arrival. The Nazir Deo went straight to the inner apartment, and prostrating himself on the ground, made obeisance to the Maharani, and then stood up before her. The Maharani was weeping with the prince in her arms. The scene may have touched the heart of the Nazir Deo, for he spoke a few kind words to soothe her. The Maharani said to him : " Make the prince king." The Nazir Deo replied : " Yes, let me have the boy in my arms." The Maharani felt that she must now deliver over the lion's whelp to a mad elephant; for although the Nazir Deo was anxious to secure the kingdom for his own son whom he had

brought with him, and might be tempted to fulfil his own desire by taking the infant and slaying him at once, yet the child must be handed over to him or he could not be made king ; and moreover, the funeral rites of the late king had not yet been performed. Thus did the Maharani reason in her own mind ; but she did not reflect that a young lion but just born may yet tear the face of an elephant, and that no one had the power to destroy a prince who was under the protection of the ten-armed Bhagavati.

At last the Maharani placed the child in the arms of the Nazir Deo, and accompanied him to the door. At the door, Jitul Singh Havildar with ten of his sepoy's stood ready. To them the queen gave orders to guard the young prince. The Nazir Deo conveyed the prince to the hall of entertainment, where the royal seat had been prepared. It was about half-past seven o'clock in the evening when he took his seat in the hall. The chief men among his soldiers entered and sat round him. No one else could enter with the exception of a few of the Company's sepoy's. Of the king's ministers, previously mentioned, some came in in disguise as menial servants, others slunk behind the sepoy's, and others remained concealed outside. Surendra Narain the Dewan Deo, Baikuntha Narain Konwar and other royal officers, together with the Dharmādhyakṣya and priest of the household were seated near. The seal was prepared in the name of the Mahārājā Harendra Narain Bhoopa, and according to the usual custom, Rāghu Nandan Bhándār Thakur, the officer in

charge of the mint, and his brother Krishna Nandan Bhándár Thakur coined money with the impress of the Maharaja. Then the Nazir Deo addressing those assembled, said : “ I am about to make the prince king ; but I have one word to say. I brought my son Birendra Nárain with me, with a view to make him king. This, however, cannot be done ; nevertheless I wish to make him heir-apparent.” At this the people were all astonished ; for they suspected that after raising the prince to the throne, he would find some means to take his life, in order that his own son might reign instead. They accordingly remained perfectly silent. Just then, Jitul Singh loading his musket, and his sepoy also loading after him, moved up to the spot where the Nazir Deo was seated with the young prince, and formed a file behind him. No one spoke a word until Baikuntha Nárain Kouwár broke the silence, and said : “ What you have said is reasonable, and you can also graciously appoint me to be Dewán.” The Nazir Deo answered not a word. It had all along been the custom that the king, on being inaugurated, should take his seat on the *chákbalis* or throne, and the Nazir standing behind should hold the umbrella over him having also the sceptre in his hand, and that the first money coined in the mint should be presented to him as a *quzzur*. But the Nazir Deo, on this occasion, having the sceptre and umbrella brought seated himself on the *chákbalis*, and after inaugurating the Maharájá, held him resting on his left thigh, whilst his own son Birendra Narain was placed by him on his right. To

the spectators, the Mahárájá looked like the full moon in the heavens with Birendra Náráin Konwár like Ráhu ready to swallow it up ; or like a goose with a crow seated by its side.

The Nazir Deo seated there, once put out his hand to the umbrella, and taking the new rupees in his right hand shewed them to the Mahárájá. This was how the usual formalities were gone through. The Bráhmaṇ pandits standing without, began to recite their vedas, music broke forth, and guns were fired. At length, it being necessary to arrange for the funeral rites of the late king; letters were sent out to the Konwárs. The Nazir Deo requested the Secretary to address his son as heir-apparent in the letter intended for him. The Secretary was too much afraid to refuse compliance. The Nazir Deo after causing the Mahárájá's hand to touch the seal, took it up in his own hand, and after sealing the letter placed it in his own waist-cloth. At that time, Rup, the chief karji, used to take down the orders in his presence, and in his absence the Mustafi used to record the date and year; but as even he was not present, the date remained unwritten. The heir-apparent placed the letter in his waist-cloth. Then those officers of the king who had feared to show themselves, consulted with Jitú Singh Havildar as follows : " The Nazir Deo keeps the royal seal in his own hands, and has had a letter addressed to his son as heir-apparent with the seal. If it is allowed to remain in his hands, there is no knowing what mischief he may work with it. You ought to take the seal and keep it in behalf of the Company, and

afterwards what the Company directs may be done." On this, Jitul Singh advanced, and with folded hands, requested that the seal might be made over to him as it was to be retained for the present in behalf of the Company. The Nazir Deo gave no heed to him. Kheláram Kárji and Jib Nath Bara Kaët, the chief among the servants of the household who were in the habit of carrying the Mahárájá about in their arms, took their station behind him. The Nazir Deo making the young king over to Kheláram Karji, ordered him to take him away into the inner apartments. They took the Mahárájá through the northern door of the hall of entertainment and had reached the courtyard, and those of the royal officers who had remained concealed in the room had come out, when Jitul Singh again asked the Nazir Deo for the royal seal, that it might remain in the custody of the Company. The Nazir Deo at this got angry and struck Jitul Singh, but he was immediately surrounded by the twelve sepoy's who stood with their fixed bayonet-points only a cubit from him. Jitul Singh drawing his dagger from his waist extended his left hand to the waist of the Nazir Deo, and with his right hand he presented the point of the dagger to the Nazir Deo's stomach. At this moment, the Nazir Deo's soldiers and officers who were present in the hall, drew their swords with a shout, but looking at their leader, they saw him all but pierced with the bayonets and the dagger, and knew that if one of them lifted his sword, their leader would immediately be transfixed. There was no escape, and the Nazir Deo

being in fear of his life, prevented his men from doing anything; but being in a passion he drew the seal from his waist and dashed it on the floor. It was immediately picked up by the sepoy. Jitul Singh then said: "Order your men to sheath their swords and retire." The Nazir Deo saw that he could not otherwise save his own life, so he gave the order. His men sheathing their swords descended by the eastern stairs. When the sepoy found that they had all gone from the room, they released the Nazir Deo and fastened the northern and main doors of the hall of entertainment. The Nazir Deo silently and gloomily went away straight to his residence. Jib Nath the Bara Kaët and Kheláram escaped quickly into the inner apartments with the Mahárájá.

When the Maháráni heard the news, she liberally rewarded Jitul Singh and his men, and told him that if he should be dismissed by the Company on any account, he would receive an appointment for life in some high office under the State. The late king's body was after this burnt, some of his wives ascending the funeral pyre with it.

Consider, then, the glory of the Mahárájá, who, the very day he was enthroned, triumphed over his powerful enemy Khajendra Náráin, the Nazir Deo, who had sought to usurp the throne, and whose very name struck terror to the hearts of those who heard it. The earth congratulated itself when the Mahárájá became king, and as Ram Chundër exalted the Ikshwáku race and Krishna the Jadu race, so Harendra Narain gave lustre to the dynasty of Bishwa Singha; and he

early gained fame as the protector of cows and Brāh-
mans.

CHAPTER II.

The Nazir Deo usurps the throne and imprisons the royal family. He is afterwards seized and imprisoned, and on making his escape is re-captured. Mr. Goodlad is superseded.

On the same day that the Mahārājā Dhairjendra Náráin died, news of the event was sent to the Gossain and Khas Nuvis at Rungpore. They sought by every means to persuade Mr. Goodlad to let them go, urging that they did not know what the Nazir Deo might be doing; but it was all in vain. The only answer they got was: "The Nazir Deo is a relative of the king's: why should he behave improperly? If he does, I will know what to do." The two men were like birds in a cage, and knew not what was going on.

The Nazir Deo returning home after the insult received from Jitul Singh, wrote a letter to Shyám Chunder Roy, requesting him to lay the matter before the Company's representative at Rungpore. The Roy immediately went to the Saheb and told him what had occurred. The Saheb on hearing it, was very angry, and said that as the king was a minor, the Názir had every right to administer the kingdom. He despatched a second Havildar with some sepoy and recalled Jitul Singh. Shyam Chunder Roy said to

the Saheb, that the insult to the Nazir &c., had been schemed by the Gossain and Khas Nuvis. The Saheb replied: "This is true; they were wishing to return to Behar, but I will have iron fetters put on their feet."

Shyám Chunder Roy reported to the Nazir Deo all that had been done. Jitul Singh, on leaving Behar, made over the royal seal to the Maharani. Immediately on his arrival at Rungpore, he was dismissed from service. The Nazir Khagendra Náráin, on hearing this, was greatly delighted, and said: "The saheb supports my orders: what have I to fear? There is nothing left for me to desire. People must address me with the two "Sris" (Sri Sri) belonging to the Máharájá, and my son is heir-apparent; he too must be addressed with two Sris. I have supreme control; why should I be addressed with only one Sri? Those only whom I set up as kings become kings, and those whom I do not set up, do not become kings. As I have made the young prince king, so also I can undo my work. Let me go and be king myself." So saying, he got his troops together, and returned to Behar ten days after the Mahárájá had been placed upon the throne. As soon as the sound of his drum was heard on the other side the Boulá, some of the Rajá's officers escaped to another place, and others went out of the country. The palace was deserted, the Maharani having dismissed every body owing to her inability to grant protection. In her distress, she sent for the new Havildar to the door, and said: "Let the Nazir Deo take all the treasures of the kingdom, only

let me escape alive with the young Mahárájá. If you will let me do this, I will go away with the infant." The Havildar replied : " As long as I am alive, the Nazir Deo will not be able to approach this inner apartment, for I have set a guard over it." The Nazir Deo, on his arrival at the palace, saw no one except a few Bráhmans moving about.* He proceeded to the hall of entertainment, and seating himself upon the royal dais, made himself king. He also took the umbrella and held it over his own head, and had a seal prepared in his own name. He also had the Náráini rupee coined in his own name, and in it received the nuzzurs, and then took up his abode in that hall.

To have the Nazir Deo as king was as disagreeable as to have to listen to the croak of a raven. His own people said, that he must suffer overthrow on account of his unparalleled ingratitude. He slew the Mahárájá's men wherever he found them. Around the inner apartment he placed a guard, so that no one could enter, if it were only to convey a handful of rice or any other food. The supplies were entirely stopped. The very windows through which a little food might have been passed into the apartment, were ordered to be closed, and many of the servants of the apartment were dismissed. It so happened, that for two or three days the young Mahárájá was so ill with fever that he could not close his eyes. After that, he got an attack of small-pox. The Nazir Deo was so heartless as to prohibit the entrance of even a physician into the apartment. But God always preserves His favoured ones from their enemies, so that

no one can hurt them, and it is only the moth seeking to extinguish a flame that gets burnt by it. The Mahārāja recovered without any medicine.

The Gossain and Khas Nuvis being informed of all that had happened, sent the letters of the queen-mother the Mahārāni, and the Mahārāja to the Governor-General, and also gave information to Mr. Goodlad. At first the Saheb gave no heed to their statements, but calling Shyam Chunder Roy, he asked him about the matter. Shyam Chunder replied, that it was all false, and that the Mahārāja had gone on a visit to the Nazir Deo's aunt. After a while, the Havildar who had been sent to Behar, wrote also to say, that the Nazir had made himself king, that no food was allowed to be taken into the inner apartment, and that the Nazir Deo would allow nothing to be done for the young king's recovery. The Gossain and Khas Nuvis showed the money that the Nazir Deo had coined in his own name. Then at last the Saheb came to see that the Nazir Deo was doing just as he pleased, and he could make no answer. The Gossain and Khas Nuvis after this showed him the will of the late Rājā. At last Mr. Goodlad said to them : " Return to Behar, and I will give the Nazir Deo and Shyam Chunder Roy their deserts, and send them to you." Sending for Shyam Chunder Roy, he spoke to him very angrily, and asked how it was that the Nazir Deo being but a servant, had usurped the king's place. So saying, he ordered him to be placed in confinement. Shyam Chunder Roy then wrote a letter to the Nazir to the following effect : " I can defend all your other

acts ; but nothing I can say, can justify your making yourself king, after you had yourself placed the young prince on the throne." In a week after the receipt of this letter, the Nazir Deo returned to Bolorámpore, taking away with him almost all the money that had been coined in his name, and the dies that had been used.

The Gossain and Khas Nuvis coming to Behar gave themselves to the business of the State. The shradh of the late king was speedily performed, and after a few days Mr. Goodlad sent the Nazir Deo under a guard of eight men together with Shyám Chunder Roy to Behar, and had them imprisoned in a godown. They said nothing, but the Maháráni always saw to their being supplied with food, and other necessities. Mr. Goodlad gave an account of the whole affair, and reported the imprisonment of the Nazir Deo to the Governor-General, who having already received a letter from the Maharani, and heard the statement of the vakeel, was satisfied of the truth of the representations when he received Mr. Goodlad's letter. He was surprised that the Nazir Deo, being a servant, should usurp the throne and be king, thus assuming supreme authority ; and furthermore, that Mr. Goodlad should have acquiesced in such conduct. He, accordingly removed Mr. Goodlad from Rungpore, and determined to appoint Mr. Peter Moore. Mr. Moore was not expected immediately, and in the meantime, before a month had passed, the Nazir Deo made his escape from imprisonment. Mr. Goodlad, the Gossain, and the Khas Nuvis searched for him every-

where, but could not find him. At last they were informed by a bairagīni that he had travelled on foot to Shyam Chunder Roy's house. Accordingly, four chuprassies, assuming the garb of bairagis, and armed with a warrant, went to the Roy's Thakurbari, singing the praises of Hari. There they saw the Nazir Deo seated playing at dice. Immediately, three of them seized him, and the fourth presented the warrant. No one made any resistance, so binding him with cords, they placed him on a bedstead and conveyed him to Rungpore to the house of Mr. Goodlad. The Khas Nuvis was there at the time. When Mr. Goodlad heard of the Nazir's arrival, he said to the Khas Nuvis: "Take him prisoner by order of the Mahārājā and carry him away." Just then, the Nazir Deo, freeing himself of the cords that bound him to the bedstead, began to ascend the steps of the house; but Ram Chuckerbutty, a vakeel, seized him by the waist, and pulled him down, so preventing him from going to Mr. Goodlad. Khagendra Nārāin the Nazir Deo was strong enough to stagger an elephant with a blow of his fist, but now he was dragged down by the waist by an old Brahman. His keepers immediately conveyed him to the house of the Gossain, who appointed Chandi Sajan, burkundaḥ, to mount guard over him, and confined him in the front room of his house. After awhile the Khas Nuvis went to him, when the Nazir Deo fell at his feet, and begged that his life might be saved. The Khas Nuvis holding his hand, said: "You are the Mahārājā's brother; therefore apprehend nothing.

You will not lose your life, nor will you be subjected to disgrace." After a long conversation, the Gossain supplied the Nazir Deo with a silver lamp, a good bed, all kinds of eating things, and five servants. He put no dishonour upon him.

CHAPTER III.

Mr. Peter Moore visits Behar, and has an interview with the young Mahárájá. The Nazir Deo is ultimately released from imprisonment, and lays claim to a share of territory.

After a few days, it became known that Mr. Peter Moore was on his way from Calcutta. The Khas Nuvis sent two of his vakeels a day's journey to the south of Dinagepore to bring him on his way. Having met Mr. Moore, they became very friendly with him on the road, and when he arrived at Dinagepore, they brought him presents and discharged fire-works in his honour. On the day of his arrival at his house in Rungpore, he found the Mahárájá's people all round the place, the garden crowded with golden lamps and wax tapers, and fire-works ready to be discharged. Five hundred people were waiting there to present their gifts. Mr. Moore was pleased with these attentions, and the next day the Khas Nuvis having an interview with him, showed him many civilities. The large house at Dháp in Rungpore, given by Mr. Purling, and which he had purchased from the Mahá-

rájá for Rs. 24,000 he gave up to Mr. Moore for a residence, who thus came under obligation to them.

Shyam Chunder Roy was still in confinement. He tried to procure his release through Mr. Moore's dewan, Mahárájá Amrit Singh, but his efforts were fruitless. Mr. Moore wrote to the Government, giving an account of all that had transpired in Behar, and in pursuance of orders received from Calcutta, he placed the Nazir Deo and Shyam Chunder Roy in chains. This was in the month of Bysack in the year 275 Shaká, 1191 B. E. Appointing a guard over them of 20 sepoys, he forwarded them to Behar, with the order that the Mahárájá was to punish them in accordance with the instructions of the Company, but that for the time being, they were to remain in prison. The Gos-sain Jiu brought Mahárájá Amrit Singh under subjection to himself through the influence of money.

In the month of Jeyt, Mr. Moore with his wife and his two sons came to Behar, and erected his tent in the spot where the mál cutcherry was afterwards built. He then went to visit the Rájá with whom he was greatly delighted. On the second day, the Mahárájá set out with great splendour to visit Mr. Moore. Mr. Moore coming out of his tent, helped the Mahárájá to dismount from his elephant, and taking him by the hand, led him into the tent. After inquiring concerning his welfare, he covered the table with toys, painted pictures, and other things calculated to interest a young child, and asked the Mahárájá which of these things he would like to have ; but the Mahárájá made no answer. The Gossain then asked him if he would

like any of those things, adding that the Saheb would give him whatever he wanted. The Mahárájá then said : " Will the Saheb give me what I want ?" Mr. Moore, on hearing this, replied, " Yes, I will give you whatever you want." The Mahárájá rejoined : " Then give me the Nazir Deo : I will slay him." Mr. Moore was startled to find that he was not only wise beyond his years, but that his was royal wisdom. He therefore made answer : " I have delivered the Nazir Deo to you, but you cannot put him to death without consulting the Council." He then again asked : " What else would the Mahárájá like to have ?" Mr. Moore's two sons, aged 4 and 3 years respectively, were at the time going about and playing in the place. The Mahárájá glanced at them, and on being repeatedly desired to say what he wanted, turned to the Khas Nuvis and replied : " Will the Saheb give what I want ?" To this the Saheb replied, " Yes, I will give it." The Mahárájá then said : " I want two English boys so high," indicating with his left hand a height corresponding with that of one of Mr. Moore's boys. Mr. Moore inferred that he wanted English children of his own age to play with, and laughing, asked what he would do with them. " I will make them my slaves," was the Mahárájá's reply. Mr. Moore bit his tongue and was dumb. After a while, he said : " I understand : he is a king and the son of a king. He knows how to make men slaves, not how to make them rulers. If he had not this wisdom and pride, he would not be competent to control his wild elephants. I am convinced that Sri Sri Bhagaván is his helper.

He will destroy his enemies and live in comfort : there can be no doubt of this."

Mr. Moore then had the Nazir Deo brought into the assembly. Surrounded by a guard and iron fetters, he stood in humble attitude in front of the Maharájá. The latter glanced at him with an angry frown, but said nothing. Mr. Moore then ordered the man's deposition to be taken down. The Nazir Deo said : " Shyam Chunder Roy will explain all the rest of my conduct : I myself will answer for having usurped the throne. I sometimes go out of my mind, and I acted in this matter at a moment when I had lost my judgment." Then the State Vakeel, Sib Náráin Roy, said : " If you were mad, how is it you did not pick up potsherds and eat earth ?" The Khas Nuvis, however, stopped the vakeel from saying more. After that, Shyam Chunder Roy's deposition was taken, and in accordance with the views of the Governor in Council, Khagendra Náráin was deposed from the Nazirship, but further orders respecting him were reserved till the Maharájá, with whom was vested the power to punish or pardon, should come of age. This decision was proclaimed all over the country by beat of drum ; and the territory outside of Cooch Behar and Chuklás Bodá, &c., right up to Bolorámpore came into the possession of the Maharájá.

The Maharájá returned to the palace, and the Nazir Deo and Shyam Chunder remained in prison. Jibendra Náráin Konwár, the son of Shurendra Náráin, the Dewán Deo, became Nazir. Mr. Moore, on his return to Rungpore, sent to the Government a report of all

that had transpired, and valuable presents came to the Mahārājā from the Government. The Mahārājā in return sent a present of elephants, ponies, fine silks, and other valuable articles. Golāb Singh Soobadar with a company of sepoy's was appointed to guard the palace. They were the servants of the East India Company although they were paid by the Mahārājā. The former Nazir and Shyam Chunder Roy were released from imprisonment; and the affairs of the State were administered by the Mahārājā and the Queen-mother the Mahārāni. The shradh of the late Mahārājā was celebrated with all due ceremony in the year 275 Shakā or 1191 B. E. The Gossain and Khas Nuvis had the management of business. At this time the late Nazir Deo claiming a share in the territories of the State of 9 annas, 10 cowries, set off for Calcutta accompanied by Baidyanath Sārangi and Ram Kānt Chuckerbutty as his vakceels, to urge his claim. He made great efforts to secure his end. Dismissing Shyam Chunder Roy, he appointed Gorā Chand Bysack, as his Dewān.

Meanwhile the young Rājā was growing day by day like the waxing moon. He always had a number of children to play with him. One day, the children formed themselves into two parties, eight of them representing the Rājā's troops, and the other eight the troops of the Nazir Deo. A battle followed. When the Gossain heard of what was going on, he came out to the children, and promised to reward them if both parties would fight as desperately as possible.

The Mahārāja's party, though consisting of weakly boys, was victorious, and received the promised reward. The children all knew that the Mahārāja would gain the victory.

CHAPTER IV.

The Nazir Deo collects a force, and attacking the royal palace seizes the Maharani and the young Mahārāja who are conveyed to Bolorampore where they are kept in close confinement.

The Gossain and Khas Nuvis were now conducting the administration by the desire of the Mahārāni. She now resided almost altogether at Rungpore, and used only occasionally to visit Behar. Mr. Peter Moore left Rungpore and returned to England. He was succeeded in the year 276 Shaka, or 1192 B. E. by Mr. McDowall, who was secretly disposed to favour the Nazir Deo. Gora Chand Bysack returned from Calcutta to Rungpore. The young Rājā was growing handsomer every day, and the Mahārāni seeing this, was delighted. The prognostications of his subjects were likely to be realized. From his manners and speech from infancy, people concluded that he would shed lustre on the dynasty of Bishwa Singha and would overcome all difficulties. Shurendra Nārāin the Dewān Deo having now died, he was succeeded by his second son Nagendra Nārāin Konwar. The Rājā now lived surrounded with the praises of his subjects.

But the apprehensions of a sovereign in time of danger are in the same proportion as his happiness in times of prosperity. Nussiruddin Mahomed Humayoon, son of Juhiruddin Mahomed Baber Shah, succeeded to the throne of Hindostan on the death of his father. Consider how he was defeated by Shere Shah, and suffered many troubles owing to the enmity of his brothers. Consider how his son the Emperor Jalaluddin Mahomed Akbar was born in circumstances of great distress, and how, when he was only two and a half years old, his father and mother were constrained to leave him in the hands of enemies and flee. None can injure those to whom God is favourable. Humayoon aided by his son, at last recovered his throne. And now let my readers be assured that what I am about to relate is all true. The late Nazir Deo again indulging in evil designs, requested the officers of the State to release the land that was his. To this they did not consent. At length, by means of the little wealth he had hoarded, he got together a number of soldiers. There were some Sunnyasis at Nágeswari and Pairádángá, and others at Rángámáti where he had married the daughter of Bulchánd Baruá, whom he invited to join him, besides his former servants and his slaves. It became bruited abroad that the Nazir Deo was gathering an army and intended to attack the palace. Fear fell upon all. When the Gossain heard of it, he sent for Captain Duncanson who was at the time at Rungpore, and desired him to go to Behar. He replied : "How can I go there ? My sepoy's have

numerous loans to recover in your country, and you will not let them recover them. If you have the sums of money with interest brought to me, then I will go." The fact was, that the sepoys had lent money to the ryots bearing interest at two and three annas, and were using forcible means to recover their loans. Many of the ryots had, in consequence, fled the country, and the Gossain had interfered to put a stop to this state of things. Mr McDowall was informed of the Captain's refusing to go, and was requested to order him into Behar. The Sahob said : "What did you leave to the Nazir Deo, that he should be able to get soldiers together and fight?" Whether Mr. McDowall gave orders to the Captain or not, is not known; but the Captain did not go.

There were at the time in the palace some burktindazes and other well-built men. Suddenly one day, in the year 277 Shaká or 1193 B. E. towards the end of the month Bysack, the Nazir Deo's elder brother Bhagavanta Náráin Konwar, who was surnamed "khora" or lame, made his appearance at the palace with about four thousand men. The people of the palace were greatly terrified; nevertheless they attempted to fight. Golab Singh Soobadar ordered his sepoys to be in readiness. But Bhagavanta shewed him a fictitious document purporting to be an order from the saheb to surrender the palace gate. Golab Singh reported the order to the sepoys and bade them offer no resistance. Accordingly, Bhagavanta Náráin passed through the gate with his troops and attempted to enter the palace. One party of soldiers turning to

the south, attempted to force a passage into the women's apartment and fell upon the Raja's soldiers. These, giving up all hope of saving their lives, fought desperately. The bullets from the Hindustani muskets began to find their way into the apartment, and the Maharani being in great fear and seeing no other way of saving her life, caught up the Mahārājā in her arms, and, accompanied by forty or fifty female attendants, escaped to the temple of Sri Sri Madan Mohan Thakur. Holding the Mahārājā to her bosom, she flung herself down at the foot of the platform on which the idol stood. Busti Lal sepoy, the guard placed over the Raja's bed-chamber, came and stood at the door of the temple. At this time the Nazir Deo's troops had arrived at the western side of the Ghurrikhana and were firing. Some of the Mahārājā's men in their turn discharged their jingalls (?) upon them, by which means two or three of the enemy were slain and their further progress was arrested. The Nazir Deo's people said to Golab Singh Soobadar: "It is true you have opened the way for us, but your own men are firing upon us." The Soobadar on this sent a second sepoy, who brought away Busti Lal from his post. Busti Lal, however, and the other sepoys coming to the Soobadar began to abuse his father and mother, and upbraid him for having delivered the Mahārājā into the hands of his enemies after having eaten his salt. It has often happened that sepoys have fought without orders from their Soobadars, but such a practice is not allowed in the Company's army. Some of the men were inflicting wounds on themselves and the

Soobadar did all he could to coax them into remaining passive. At length, after Busti Lal had been called away, the Sunnyasis and other soldiers began a vigorous firing; the palace guards fled, and the musket balls penetrating into Madan Mohan's temple, killed one female attendant by striking her on her side, and wounded the hand of another. The people of the place were now in fear of their lives, and throughout the palace cries of lamentation were heard. At this moment, Khelaram Karji issuing from the magistrate's house cut down the fence surrounding the idol's house at the north-east corner. A way of escape being thus made, the Maharáni rushed out with the Maharájá in her arms accompanied by all the other people in the place. Khelaram Karji taking the young Rájá from his mother's arms was running on in advance with him when the Nazir Deo's men suddenly fell upon the party and surrounded them, and snatching the young Rájá from Khelaram's arms placed him in a worn out palanquin. Seizing the Maharáni as if she were any common person, they hurried her away, and treated her with indignities which neither tongue nor pen can describe. Bhāgavanta Náráin's Sunnyasis treated her in much the same wicked way as Draupadi, the wife of the Pandus, was treated after the defeat in the game of dice. The palace was plundered. The Maharáni kept her entire face covered with her veil which, however, was soaked through with her tears. She could see nothing, and could not tell whether she was walking on the earth or on thorns, or over fire, or on the heads of serpents.

Around her were several of her female attendants with their hair hanging loose, some with only one garment on, others with two, weeping aloud as they walked along. In this way they were conveyed to the banks of the Debái tank.

At this moment there arrived at the spot, Ai Marich Mati, the Nazir Deo's aunt, and widow of Rudra Náráin, a woman who was held in great respect in the family, and who, no doubt, had previously become aware of the Nazir Deo's evil designs. Seeing the condition of the Mahárani, she descended from her litter, and throwing herself at the Mahárani's feet, said, "O mother and protector of the king, you have in every generation, been the Nazir Deo's sovereigns, and we in every generation have been your servants, and we have insulted you. I know that the Nazir Deo must now suffer destruction." But the Mahárani wept on, unconscious of what was said or who it was that was holding her feet. As soon as the Ai Marich Mati made herself known, the wicked Sunnyasis released their hold of the Mahárani's hair. Then the Mahárani removed the cloth that veiled her face and began to weep. The Ai Marich Mati said: "Let me seat you in my litter, and I will run by your side like a common maid-servant." The Mahárani replied: "What God willed, has happened; that which remained to be done, has been done. If you wish me well, place in my hands a sharp knife that I may plunge it into my bosom and give back my life to God." The Ai Marich Mati was deeply affected, and putting her hands on the Mahárani's head, strove to comfort her. The

Maharáni made answer : " If you wish to comfort me, then bring the Maharájá and place him in my arms, that I may once more fold him to my bosom as I did when he was born, and so be satisfied. I know that the object with which you are taking me away is to behead me, and after that you will do as you please with the Rájá." The Ai Marich Mati took an oath and said : " This shall never be. The Nazir Deo is taking you away in order that thus an understanding may be come to between the two parties. You shall live at Bolorampore as if in your own house." These and similar things she said. At length the young Rájá was brought and placed in the Maharáni's arms. The ornaments he wore had all been taken away. The Maharáni, on receiving him into her arms, felt as if new life had for a moment entered into her dead body ; after that, resigning herself to the will of God, she seated herself in the litter. The Ai Marich Mati accompanied her in another litter to Bolorampore, and placed her in a small house outside the women's apartment, but within the outer enclosure that surrounded her residence. A Sunnyasi guard was placed over the house. Roghoo Bukshi now arrived from Behar, but there was no one to listen to his complaints. In the afternoon, certain confectioners arrived with pots and pans, rice and sundry other articles of food ; but the Maharáni herself fasted for three days. At last being compelled to eat, however unwillingly, she took a little food, and all the party likewise ate. Thus the Maharáni continued a prisoner, guarded by Sunnyasis.

CHAPTER V.

The English advance on Bolorampore and release the Mahārāja and the Queen-mother.

When the Gossain and Khas Nuvis were roughly answered by Mr. McDowall, and they found that Captain Duncanson had not gone, they sent word to say that the Nazir Deo was collecting an army. Then all the burkundazes that had found employment at Rungpore were despatched to Behar, and the Sahebs themselves prepared to set out for the place. They had reached as far as Kalidohur Pal; and the burkundazes having spent the night at Mogul Hát, were marching on towards Behar, when news came that the Maharani and the young Rájá had been seized, and that it was doubtful whether they were alive or dead. The Gossain, on hearing this, fell on the Khas Nuvis's neck and began to weep. The Khas Nuvis wept with him, but after a brief while, said: "What is the good of weeping like women? We must act, so as by any means to deliver them." So saying they went to Dhap and told Mr. McDowall all that had happened. Mr. McDowall, the moment he heard it, became like one bereft of his senses, for he ran up the steps of his house and ran down, and ran up and ran down, asking questions all the time as to whether the Mahārāja was alive or not, and what was to be done. The two men wiping the tears from their eyes, replied: "Capt. Duncanson and Golab Singh Soobadar have been the cause of this ruin." Mr. McDowall on this

had the Captain placed under arrest, and sent men to bring away the Soobadar.

The three men having consulted together for a long time, wrote an account of what was transpiring to the Government. The Gossain and Khas Nuvis then returned to their home. It was reported 'all over Rungpore that the Nazir Deo was about to attack the town. The Gossain and Khas Nuvis, to get news concerning the Mahárájá sent out men in various disguises. They got information from a Bráhmaṇ beggar whom they sent for through Fukeer Chuckerbutty at night and were told how the Mahárájá had been seen in his mother's arms surrounded by a Sunnyási guard. Other people too gradually began to say the same thing. This quieted their minds, and they remembered that the Nazir Deo had sometimes spoken of an understanding which he had desired to come to. They therefore wrote to the people in Behar desiring them to go to Bolorámpore, and do as the Nazir Deo instructed them, so that by any means the Mahárájá might be delivered out of the hands of wicked men. Accordingly Sachinandan Mustafi, Gaësh jemadar and others went, and taking an oath upon cowdung cakes, engaged to obey the Nazir's instructions. But for all that, he did not let the young Rájá go; on the contrary, he sought to confine these men, who, however, by some means contrived to escape. The young Rájá now began to suffer from diarrhoea; but with the aid of physicians and under the guardian care of Sri Sri Bhagavati who was his constant protector, he recovered his health.

The Nazir Deo became now sufficiently ashamed of his own success, and in his fear began to be anxious what to do. Sometimes when he came to his house at Bolorámpore at night, he remained apart by himself, and Gora Chánd Bysack who noted all this, saw clearly that the end would be disastrous. He therefore made his escape to Calcutta. After twenty days, news came from Calcutta that two companies of sepoy had been despatched from Jehángirnuggur and two from Berhampore, and that they were on their way. These tidings being bruited abroad, the Nazir Deo became afraid, and by degrees removed his family to Rangamati. He at the same time increased the severity of the treatment shown to the Maháráni and the young Raja, and kept them in constant fear of their lives. Some days he stopped their food altogether. After a month and a half Captain Rattan and a Lieutenant arrived at Rungpore from Dacca with two companies of sepoy. With them also came Jobha Singh Soobadar. Hearing that the Nazir Deo had a numerous army, and that he was skilled in war, they resolved to wait at Rungpore for the arrival of the Berhampore companies. On the day on which these companies were expected to arrive at Rungpore, Captain Rattan advanced with his two companies. On the fourth day three Captains and a Lieutenant with four companies of sepoy assembled at Nazirgunge.

It being the month of Assar, the country was in a flooded state, and Vishnu Persad Bukshi and others being appointed commissariat agents had gone in advance of the troops. The troops remained encamp-

ed at Nazirgunge for four or five days. By orders of the Government Captain Rattan was placed in command. At this time letters began to come in from the Maharani addressed to the Gossain and Khas Nuvis as well as to Mr. McDowall and Captain Rattan to the following effect : " The Nazir Deo is by no means hostile to me. Whatever he may do, I have no intention of fighting with him. He will of his own accord take me back to Behar. Why are you ready to fight with him ? You must go back." At the same time by a faithful messenger she wrote to say : " I am in the hands of an enemy who is threatening me in various ways. Sometimes he comes with a sword to slay me, at other times he comes with a loaded gun. I am constrained to write what they dictate, and I fear that our lives will not be saved. This is our state. The Mahārājā is never permitted to go out of the house." At length the displeasure of the gods having lessened, the Company's troops dividing into four parties advanced one day and surrounded Bolorampore on all four sides. Their tents extended over half a mile. Bolorampore is surrounded on three sides by the Tenkadara river, and the country all round was under water, so that there was no going about except by boats. The English closed up all the approaches to the town, so that no one could come out, and not a single morsel of rice could reach the Nazir's residence. They also drew a map of the place, in which they marked the spot and the house in which the Mahārājā was confined, and which they found to be favourably situated. They then sent out for boats, and beat

Gaësh jomadār and Gyan Soobahdar and others with canes until the blood began to flow, but no boats were forthcoming. At last two little boats were obtained, one on one side of the town, and the other on another, which were got ready and manned. . Every day from that time the Mahārāni and the young Rājā were kept seated on a mattress filled with gunpowder from morning to night, and were told : “ When the Company’s troops cross over, we will immediately set fire to the gunpowder, and then we will fight.” The Mahārāni being in great fear of her life, used to write letters to the Captain’s people, earnestly entreating them not to fight but to go away ; adding, “ the Nazir Deo must release me, otherwise we have no chance of saving our lives. I am seated on a mattress of gunpowder in the expectation of having a spark applied to it.” On receiving this letter the English were greatly troubled what to do. Four men met every day to consult together. With a view to coming to an amicable arrangement, Ramruttun Bukshi and Sakerpoka came on the second day and said : “ If you will cease to attack, we will deliver up the Queen-mother and Mahārājā to you to-morrow.” The English replied : “ We will retire as soon as we get them.” The Bukshi returned, but afterwards only sent a message to the English to say that the Nazir Deo was not at home, and that nothing could be done till he came back. In this way six days passed. On the morning of the seventh day the English were prepared to begin their attack, but before dawn it had begun to rain heavily. In the morning, the officers giving orders to their men

to cross, came to the northern side where Captain Rattan was, and the soldiers began to cross over. There was some delay in getting the boats along, because they had to be worked by the men themselves. Having reached the opposite side, Captain Rattan and four others stepped out in front with drawn swords, and were followed by the sepoy with loaded muskets. It now began to rain very heavily, but it was still early morning. The Nazir Deo's soldiers were not astir, and had not even opened the doors of their houses. The few men who were awake stood dumb with astonishment at the sight of the sahebs with their soldiers. In the meanwhile the sahebs taking with them the soldiers that could move along fastest, directed their steps to the house in which the Queen-mother and Mahārājā lay confined, and began to call out, "Where is the Mahārāj! Where is the Mahārāj!" The Mahārāj had risen from sleep and was playing in the house. To cover his nakedness he had wrapped a garment round his loins. The Mahārāni was still asleep in bed, having been overcome by her sorrowful thoughts; and when she was aroused, it seemed like a dream to her that she should hear the sahebs speaking and the sepoy moving hither and thither. Rising up quickly, she seized the Mahārājā's hands and said, "Go and say to them, 'I am the Mahārāj';" but before he could say anything, the sahebs had heard his mother's voice, and Vishnu Prasad Bukshi, who had heard the Mahārājā described, recognised the young king and exclaimed, "This is the Mahārāj: look at the disgraceful condition in which these wicked people have kept him."

Immediately Captain Rattan seized the Mahárájá in his arms, and running like the wind down to the boat, conveyed him across to the English camp. The other English officers who remained behind, reassured the Maháráni from outside the house, saying : " Oh lady ! we have come to fetch you away." Just then some of the Sunmyasi guard seized their weapons and were fired upon by the sepoys. Some of them fell, others of them were shot down by the sepoys as they endeavoured to make their escape.

Three other parties of sepoys surrounded the town on three sides and shot down or bayoneted all whom they met. About two hundred and fifty people perished. Some were slain, others were captured, others again swam across the river and escaped. There was nothing in the Nazir's house : what there was, was carried off by the sepoys, who afterwards set fire to the place. Two or three ponies and one elephant were all that was obtained. Taking the Maháráni and all her attendants across the river, they conveyed them away by means of litters, &c. Just as when Rávan seized Rani Chandra and confined him in hell, Hanuman broke into those abodes, and delivering Bhagavan, and carried him away to the Sutela mountain, so Captain Rattan attacked Bolorampore, and releasing the Mahárájá, conveyed him away to Behar. Like the sun after the clouds have blown over, the Mahárájá's glory shone forth again, and the Maháráni returned to her apartments. The Mahárájá entertained the English officers in the Palace-hall, and on their asking him for presents, he dismissed them with a quantity of jewelry,

two elephants and four horses, and sent an order to the Khas Nuvis to pay them ten thousand rupees in cash. By the orders of the Government, the services of Sobha Singh Soobahdar and his Company of sepoy were lent to the Mahārājā who was to pay them, under whose orders they were to remain, and who had the power to retain their services or to dismiss them. Jetul Singh was then appointed Jomadar of the Company, and Busti Lal was made Havildar.

CHAPTER VI.

A deputation is sent from Calcutta to inquire into the conduct of the Nazir Deo, and to arrange for the administration of the State during the minority of the Mahārājā.

When the English destroyed the Nazir's house at Bolorampore, and slaying its defenders brought away the Mahārājā to his own palace, Khagendra Nārāin fled. His agents in Calcutta made great efforts in his behalf, but they were unsuccessful; their efforts being countermined by Hari Prasad Sircar and Jānaki Ram Sircar. Mr. McDowall also wrote from Rungpore. At length the Governor General in Council sent a deputation to inquire into all matters concerning Behar, the violence perpetrated by the Nazir Deo, the rights claimed by him, the extent of property in the kingdom belonging to the Mahārājā, and the neglect of duty on the part of Captain Duncanson.

The deputation arrived in the early part of Assar in the year 278 Shaká or 1194, B. E. They did not go either to Behar or Bolorampore, but stayed at Mogul Hát. The Gossain Sarbbá Nanda and the Khas Nuvis Kasinath Lahiri went from Gitál Daha to have an interview with them, and appointed Bháyá Srishti Dhar Roy, Krishna Prasad Roy, and Sib Náráin Roy, as agents in behalf of the State. Shyam Chunder Roy appeared in behalf of the Nazir Deo. The sahebs instituted a great search after the Nazir Deo, but he was afraid to make his appearance. At last they caused it to be proclaimed that the Company had condemned his crime in having attacked the royal palace and plundered it, and in having made prisoners of the Queen-mother the Maháráni, and the Mahárájá. The Khas Nuvis through his agent remonstrated against this procedure, but the sahebs explained the matter to him. The Nazir Deo came in. A detailed account of the investigation that followed cannot be given in this history; but a book was prepared in which the entire proceedings were recorded. The Mahárájá, Bhup Bahadur, was declared ruler of the kingdom without any co-sharer. It was further declared that there should be no interference with his Courts of justice and his Mint for the coining of Náráini rupees; that the Chucklas should remain as heretofore; that the Nazir Khagendra Náráin should be deposed; that in consequence of his misconduct the sum of five hundred sicca rupees only should be granted to him, as he had himself desired, as subsistence allowance, and that he should, subject to

the pleasure of the Governor-General in Council, be permitted to reside at Bolorampore ; that there being no objection on the score of his youth, Kagendra Náráin should remain Dewan Deo as formerly ; that inasmuch as Captain Duncanson and Golab Singha Soobahdar had delivered over the master who fed them into the hands of his enemies and had so undone the good that the Company had sought to effect in behalf of the Mahárájá, they should be removed from the country, and that their sepoy should not recover any of the money which they had lent out in Cooch Behar at an interest of three annas.

The deputation having taken down all the representations that Kasinath Lahiri the Khas Nuvis had to make, sent one copy of their proceedings to the Governor-General in Council, and made over another for the use of the State. Before leaving Cooch Behar, they sailed up to the capital in their pinnace, and were greatly delighted with the interview they had with the Mahárájá. They found him to all outward appearance like a lion's (Singha) whelp. Having from his childhood been accustomed to the society of English people, he asked his visitors what punishment had been awarded to the Nazir Deo. They were surprised at the question, but replied that his punishment had been a very severe one ; that he had been deprived of all right and authority in the kingdom, and of all his property ; that when he, the Mahárájá, came of age he might if he so desired, and with the permission of the Governor-General in Council, inflict bodily punishment upon him ; but that just

now that power was in abeyance, and the affairs of his kingdom were to be managed in his name by his ministers. They then were permitted to retire and afterwards returned to Calcutta. Under an order from the Mahárájá, the Maháráni administered the kingdom through the Gossain and Khas Nuvis. The times being auspicious, the Mahárájá became anxious to acquire knowledge, and appointed 'Hari Sankar Chuckerbutty to teach him Sanskrit slokas ; and after some time he appointed the learned Moonshi Nri Singha to teach him Persian and Bengali.

CHAPTER VII.

Mr. Henry Douglas is appointed to superintend the administration of the State during the Raja's minority, and is succeeded by the Hon'ble Mr. Bruce.

Bháyá Srishti Dhar was appointed by the Khas Nuvis to the office of Peshkar. Sib Prasad Mustafi somehow presided over the Criminal Court of Justice, and Krishna Nandan, the Bhandar Thakur, continued as formerly, to be Superintendent of the Mint. Thus the various departments of the State were again set a-going. Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General in the year 280 Shaka or 1196 B. E., having heard what had transpired in Behar, and learning that the Mahárájá, owing to his tender years, was not competent to manage his own affairs, deputed Mr. Henry Douglas to manage them for him, and wrote a letter to

the following effect: "As, owing to your tender years, others have of their own accord taken the management of your affairs into their own hands and much disaster has ensued, so that no one's rights can be defined, I have, in order to ascertain these rights, appointed the afore-mentioned gentleman as Commissioner to look after the affairs of the kingdom subject to your wishes. He will govern your territory, take the appointed tribute money, pay to the Nazir Deo his monthly subsistence allowance of five hundred rupees, defray your personal expenses, and meet all the necessary expenditure of the State, and keep in hand whatever balance there may be, pending my orders. Be assured that as soon as you come of age I will make over to you the entire administration."

Mr. Henry Douglas reaching Behar in the month of Magh, took over charge and made himself acquainted with all matters. Gour Baboo was his Dewan, and Joy Gopal Singh was his Moonshi. This was in the year 281 Raj Shaka, or 1197 B. E. After getting matters well in hand, Mr. Douglas appointed Joy Gopal Singh as Dewan. The Gossain Jiu was deprived of all office, and the Khas Nuvis was required to give his services to Mr. Douglas. Such was the wish of the Government. Bhaya Śrishti Dhar was dismissed; Krishna Prasad Roy was appointed over the Criminal Court, and Sib Prasad Mustafi was made seal-bearer. Letters impressed with the seal bearing the Mahārāja's name also had Mr. Douglas' seal put upon them. The former seal was kept by the Maharani, and whenever it was necessary, Sib Prasad Mustafi brought

it away to the Saheb. Separate seals were prepared for the Criminal and Revenue Courts. In public documents the Mahārājā's orders used to be recorded at the top, but they were carried out under the Saheb's signature. In a short time the affairs of the kingdom were brought into beautiful order. Gopal Pal Singha holding office under the Saheb, became Dewan. Gour Baboo was a young man and went back to his country. The mehals were settled with those who bid highest for them, and as a consequence the revenues were greatly enhanced. The Saheb also reduced the expenditure of the State to just that sum of money that was absolutely necessary, and he also dismissed many of the servants. On every thirtieth day the rents were paid in, and the amount fixed for the expenditure of the State was duly distributed. The State thus paid its way, and month by month its balances accumulated.

Mr. Douglas did everything to encourage the Mahārājā in the acquisition of Persian, Bengali, and other subjects of knowledge. Every week he examined him in what he had learnt. Every three months the Mahārājā wrote a letter to the Governor-General in Persian and Bengali to shew him the improvement he was making in writing. Moulvi Meher Ali was appointed to teach him to read Persian, and Lala Sarup Singh taught him writing. In a short time the young Rājā became skilled in various arts. He learned to ride on horseback and on elephant-back. Every morning he gave himself to physical exercise and used to get his body besmeared with dust. Alas! what

happy times those were ! It was as if Sri Sri Maha Deo with his face like the full moon had changed his form and was resident in the palace. In the year 283 Shaká, or 1199 B. E., the Mahárájá underwent his first tonsure. Jibendra Náráin, the Nazir Deo, also underwent the ceremony at that time.

In the month of Srabun, Mr. Douglas went to Calcutta, leaving the management of Behar in the hands of Mr. Lumsden. In the month of Aughran he was succeeded by the Honorable Charles Andrew Bruce as Commissioner, Mr. Douglas being appointed to Patna.

CHAPTER VIII.

Account of the Mahárájá's acquirements. Description of the Rájá's retinue when he went out. Hájára Singh. Preparations for the Mahárájá's marriage.

When the Hon'ble Mr. Bruce came as Commissioner, the Dewan, Joy Gopal Singh, resigned his office and returned to his own country. Mr. Bruce was accompanied by Shyam Chunder Chatterjea, Baboo Hingolal, and Rajib Lochan Bose. Shyam Chatterjea was put in charge of the Civil and Criminal Courts ; Hingolal Baboo was made treasurer, and Rajib Lochan Bose was made peshkar to the Khas Nuvis. Of these men, Hingal Baboo was the Saheb's adviser, and the Khas Nuvis worked in immediate connection with Mr. Bruce.

All the mehals of Behar were at one and the same time farmed out to the highest bidders. This arrangement causing a great increase in the revenue, there was a balance of two or three lacs of rupees after the regular expenditure had been met. Both king and subjects, both great and small, now lived happily.

The Mahárájá having now passed his childhood, became a perfect scholar in Persian and Bengali, and every body used to praise his beautiful handwriting. Nobody could compete with him in Persian penmanship. He was unrivalled in the art of drawing, and drew pictures of beasts, birds, trees, creepers, flowers, &c. None could equal him in horsemanship or the riding of elephants. There is nothing with which to compare his skill in the use of the bow and arrow and the gun. Whenever a new mechanical art came under his notice, he immediately applied himself to learn it. He was a skilled musician, and so well understood the various modes of music, that he could appreciate the performances of the finest singers. He was quick to take in the characters of men and to cultivate all great qualities himself, so that he became a sea of all good qualities. He was very devout towards Brahmanś, always spoke in a sweet and kindly tone, and people considered that the object with which the faculty of sight had been given them, had been fulfilled when they had looked upon him.

Sometimes the Saheb used to come on a visit to the Raj-bari. Sometimes the Raja went to the house of the Saheb. On these latter occasions, there used to be a procession of men on horseback carrying flags

and beating drums, musicians of every kind mounted upon elephants, lines of personal attendants and files of spearmen and bowmen, besides cavalry and other horsemen, and people mounted on elephants and riding in carriages. Then there were water-carriers, umbrella-holders and fan-bearers who, with the men carrying clubs and maces, surrounded the Rájá. Some carried pán-boxes, others hookas, others fly-brushes, others water-goblets, and others, again, glasses and golden trays, and whatever else might be needed. Servants bearing fans accompanied the Mahárájá wherever he went. He sometimes rode on an elephant, and at other times in a palanquin ornamented with fringes. On either side, white fly-brushes were being constantly waved; and behind him there followed the Dewan Deo and Nazir Deo Baikuntha Náráin, the saheb's son, Gajendra Náráin, the Subha Deo, the Khas Nuvis and the other ministers. On his arrival at Mr. Birch's house, the saheb took off his hat, and advancing towards the Rájá, held him by the hand and conducted him into the house where he gave him a seat. After some conversation the Rájá returned to his palace, sometimes in a palanquin, sometimes in a carriage.

Thus matters went on comfortably. Mr. Birch on one occasion went to Calcutta, and returned after having arranged for the expenditure of the State being placed entirely under his control. Certain men were at this time appointed to be companions to the king, among whom was Baboo Guru Prasad. A European architect was sent for, who drew a plan of

a splendid three-storied house which was to be furnished with mirrors, chandeliers, and other furniture necessary for purposes of entertainment. The Rájá used occasionally to look on at the dancing of dancing-girls, and to listen to their singing.

In the 284 Shaká, or 1200 B. E, one Hájará Singh, a very troublesome person, coming from the west with four or five thousand troops, advanced through Nepal and Bhután from mountain to mountain until he arrived at a place called Sonajola, thirty-two miles from Behar. Many of his spies were arrested, who said that he was coming with a view to ascertain the amount of treasure to be had in Behar. At this the people were all frightened. Mr. Birch being away in Calcutta, the Khas Nuvis and the other ministers consulted together and removed the treasure from the malkhana, conveying it by means of elephants and carts to Rungpore. They also attempted to collect together some soldiers. The Maháráni was sent away to Goshanimar. They also wanted to remove the Maháráj, but he refused to go, saying that if Hájará Singh came, he would just fight him. At length news arrived that a certain Captain had reached Patgram with a company of sepoys ; and Sib Prasad Mustafi was sent to conduct the Captain and his men to Behar. These sepoys committed such outrages in the town that the people concluded that it would have been better if they had been plundered by Hájará Singh. After a stay of two days, the saheb received five thousand rupees and moved off in an easterly direction. Tidings afterwards came that

Hájará Singh had gone with his troops into Assam. Behar accordingly quieted down.

Mr. Birch now returned and preparations were made for the Mahárájá's marriage. The daughter of Jadunath Isar and the daughter of Padyanath Karji were selected to be his two queens, and some other girls were chosen as 'his inferior wives. Under the orders of Mr. Birch, the Gossain and Khas Nuvis superintended the arrangements. The people began to assemble ten days beforehand. A silver throne was erected ; a wooden platform was thrown out in continuation of the hall of entertainment, so as to be on the same level, and it was surmounted by a broad canopy. Every evening Hingo Lal came over to inspect the preparations. The four silver pillars erected at the four corners of the throne, supported a canopy magnificently fringed, and a fine carpet was spread out at the bottom. In front of the throne were vases holding attar and rose-water, and other vases filled with flowers. Countless chandeliers hung from all parts of the roof and gave forth their brilliant light. On the right of the throne, a chair was reserved for Mr. Birch : beyond it came the chair appropriated to the Gossain Jiu, and next to it the chair of the Khas Nuvis. Then came a carpet reserved for those acquaintances whom the Rájá wished to honour : common people were not allowed to sit here. On the left hand, the Konwar Karji and the brahman's and pundits were seated in double lines. If any one happened to be a little in front of, or a little behind, the line in which they were required to sit, immediately

the Durbar Khan, or officer appointed to keep order in the durbar, stepped forward to dress the line. Behind the throne stood the domestic servants with various articles in their hands. At the door of the great hall, on the right side of it, sepoys stood in file extending from the wooden platform to the courtyard ; on the left side there was the same arrangement. Burkundazes stood without : on the western side stood the personal attendants of the Rájá. Within the hall, but at the back, were spearmen and bowmen, and men bearing quivers. None of them were allowed to stand out of line, or make a sound. On the right as well as on the left of the throne, stood men bearing fly-brushes and waving them to and fro. The Durbar Khan, or master of the ceremonies, stood with a gold mace in one hand and a gold-mounted cane in the other, scrutinizing the assembly. Any disorder in the position of the people, and any sound, was immediately noticed and rebuked. The king each day came forth attired in some new garment, and as he took his seat upon the throne and held the umbrella and sceptre, the people were reminded of Indra in the assembly of the gods. Thousands of people looked on him at once, for he shone forth like the full moon among the stars of the firmament. Dancing-girls and dancing-boys performed before him, and among the other entertainments were fire-works, of which some new variety was exhibited each night.

Thus, this levee continued to be held day by day for ten days. There were others who met together in another apartment, and entertained themselves

with dancing and singing. Food served out in four of the rooms. Galls were drawn out extending in a long line from the shed in which they were kept, to the very palace. There was no need for anybody to carry a torch or any kind of lantern. The place all around was lighted up with a perfect forest of lamps of gold and silver, and indeed of all descriptions. Invitations were sent to the Governor General and his Council, to the Deb Rájá, to the Rájá of Dinagepore, and to many of the zemindars.

At length, on an auspicious day, and in accordance with the family practice, the Maharájá made an auspicious marriage with the two Máháranis mentioned above, and the other girls who became his inferior wives. Those who had been invited, all sent gifts, and the Maharájá presented his ministers with shawls and other valuable stuffs, and horses, &c. Thus was the marriage celebrated.

Sixty-four thousand rupees were invested in the Company's Promissory Notes, and the interest was punctually paid from year to year.

After some days, Baboo Guru Prasad returned and again took office. He stood in high favour with the Commissioner. In the year 286 Raj Shaká, or 1202 B. E., Mr. Birch went away to be Judge of Hooghly, and the affairs of Behar were for a time made over to the Collector of Rungpore. Mr. William T. Smith was then appointed as Commissioner.

CHAPTER IX

Mr. Smith goes to Cooch Behar. Kasinath Lahiri, the Khas Nuvis, is restored to the King's favour after the birth of the King's first son. Mr. Smith leaves Cooch Behar in 1204.

When Mr. Smith went to Cooch Behar, he was accompanied by Hingo Lal and Rajib Lochun Ghose. Shyam Chunder Chatterjee became Dewan and the Saheb's moonshi. Mittra Jital Singh became treasurer, and Radha Krishna Lahiri was appointed Peshkar to the Khas Nuvis. Shyam Chunder Chatterjee having after a while died, his brother Padma Lochun became Dewan. All the business was managed by Kasinath Lahiri, the Khas Nuvis. Guru Prasad Barua presided over the Criminal Court. At that time, I who write this history, was but a student in search of knowledge ; but the Rájá sending for me, appointed me to fill the place of moonshi Nri Singh, and conferred on me the title of moonshi. Ever since then, I have lived in the shadow of the royal feet. The king was still a youth, and was fond of enjoyment. He went out every morning, sometimes on horseback, sometimes on elephant-back, sometimes in a chariot, and at other times in a buggy. Occasionally, too, he went out hunting and shot beasts and birds. Almost every night he entertained himself with looking on at dancing and listening to sing-

ing. We were always near him, and laughter and enjoyment characterized all our pursuits. That same year the Rájá married the niece of Bijoyeswar Karji and granddaughter of Darpa Deo of Baikunthapore. She was called the Bara Madhyam Ai Devati, and there was a good deal of State ceremony connected with the event.

For some reason or other the Rájá became offended with the Khas Nuvis and for seven or eight months refused to see him. In the year 287 Shaká, or 1203 B. E., in the early part of the month of Aughran, the Rájá's first son was born. He was named Sibendra Narain Konwar, but he was commonly known as the Bara Kachuá Sahab. On receiving the news of his birth, the king was greatly delighted and distributed gifts among the brahmans and others. Having, according to the practice of the family, inspected the child's face, he remembered the Khas Nuvis and sent for him. The latter came gladly, and then the Máhárájá, accompanied by the Gossain and Khas Nuvis, took his seat upon the throne and distributed gifts. On that day the poor, the distressed, and the destitute, and those who had been born blind and lame, each received five rupees, and no one received a smaller sum than this. To some were even given ten, twenty, fifty, a hundred, and even two hundred rupees. There was much dancing and singing. In one night there were spent seventeen thousand rupees, and the entertainments and rejoicings lasted for a week. Similar rejoicings took place when the second son, commonly called

Meghendra Singh, was born. His proper name was Meghendra Narain Konwar.

Soon after the opening of the year 1204, Mr. Smith was removed from Cooch Behar.

CHAPTER X.

Mr. Ahmuty is appointed Commissioner. Description of the Rájá and of his habits. The Huli festival, and the Durgá Pujá. The Rájá comes of age, and Chakras Boda, &c., are made over to his management. Mr. Ahmuty attempts to injure the Rájá. The Rájá contracts a fresh marriage.

Mr. Richard Ahmuty was appointed Commissioner in the year 288 Shaká, or 1204 B. E. With him came Pran Krishua Bishwas as Dewan. He was a most grasping man, and in one year received a lac of rupees. He, however, quarrelled with the Khas Nuvis and left. Sib Narain Baboo was put in charge of the Criminal Court, and Guru Prasad Baboo was again taken into service after having once been sent out of Behar. Braja Nandan Mustafi also found favour with the Rájá.

The Rájá now began to give attention to the affairs of the State. It would be impossible to enumerate all his good qualities. Compared with him Kamadeva would regard himself as ugly. Men whose arms have reached down to their knees have been heard of, but, with the exception of this Rájá, none such have ever

been seen. His complexion was fair, his eyebrows were joined and with his eyes reached back to his ears, and were the admiration of all the young women. Gymnastic exercises had thrown out his chest and developed his arms; and when his body was soiled with the dust of the wrestling-ground, he looked like Gangadhar. Poets have already described these things at length, why should I give any further description? A perfect description of his person would be impossible. Unrivalled wrestlers, when they saw him, felt dismay. The shooting and slaying of small animals and birds were now laid aside in favour of the frequent hunting of tigers, buffaloes, and rhinoceroses. It was the practice to offer animal sacrifices; but now the sacrifice of goats was considered a contemptible thing. The king used to strike off at a single blow the heads of 40 or 50 three-year-old buffaloes, and such as had horns more than a cubit long. He wore no warm clothing in the winter; and in the month of Magh covered himself at night with only a thin sheet. When he bathed, he never poured over himself less than 50 pitchers of water. He daily presented a burnt offering, and heard the Purāna read, and never ceased to distribute rice and gold; and when he was attired in his royal robes, the people were overcome with delight at his form so ravishing to the sight of women. In respect of devotion and gifts to the gods and brahmans, he was like Dadhi-chi Karna; his glory was like that of Rābana; he was a Brihaspati in judgment, a Raghupati in respect of his care of his subjects, and a Bali in knowledge.

In this Kali Yoga there had never been such another king, and no one had seen such another. His speech was so honied that any one who came in any great trouble to him, needed only to hear one word from his lips to feel as if steeped in the nectar of the gods, and to have all his sorrow removed. When he turned his eyes on a person, that person felt as though he had gained the government of a kingdom. He was always smiling and cheerful, and was never melancholy. He would not listen to, or himself make use of, coarse language; he never condescended to speak in vulgar language to the vulgar; he was unrivalled in his devotion to his kingly duties; and he taught others (by his example) what the obligations of a king were. A son of Siva, he was himself Siva; as Ashutosh, he was an embodiment of religion; he was punctual in the worship of the gods, and was especially devoted to the worship of Durgá.

The magnificence with which the Huli festival was celebrated had never been witnessed or heard of any where before. There were assemblies at the royal palace for fifteen days during this festival. The Judge and Collector of Rungpore and Dinagepore with their wives and the indigo planters of the district came to witness the proceedings. It would be impossible to reckon up the number of dancing-women, mendicants, jugglers, and professional singers that came. There was an unmeasured quantity of red-powder cartridges, attar of roses, and scented oils. How shall I describe the hall in which the king's guests assembled! The entire city with every street

and ghát was red with the scented powder. The sahebs and their ladies within doors entertained themselves by squirting the powder upon one another. Sometimes the European gentlemen took one side and the king and his personal attendants the other, and they had a battle with cartridges filled with this powder, which they threw at one another. On these occasions, the cartridges used to be made of *solah* dyed red. Fire-works were discharged, cannons were fired, and every now and then there was some merry-making. How can my single pen describe all the proceedings? On the second day of the moon during the Durgá Pujá, it was the practice of the royal family to have a sight of the image of the goddess. The king went on the occasion to behold the image. From that day onwards, as before, the king rode out every day to witness the dancing and merry-making. European gentlemen and ladies came from various places to be present at the festivities. On the great eighth day, there was a grand pujá, on which occasion, it is reported that in one day, a thousand he-goats and a hundred buffaloes were offered in sacrifice, thus creating a river of blood. The garments, ornaments, plates, &c., brought for presentation to the goddess formed great piles. The house in which the image was lodged, was covered with countless festoons consisting of confectionery. There were eleven pujás performed in one day. There was a ceaseless round of pujás and sacrifices from the early morning till night. Besides other music, there were a hundred great drums employed; and what with the music that came

from the professional men occupying the platform erected for their accommodation, and the discharge of cannon, the noise seemed to the people like that of some destruction that had overtaken a portion of the globe. Besides this, there were music and dancing going on every here and there, and the effect altogether was perfectly overwhelming. Six or seven lacs of burnt-offerings of ghee were presented: hundreds of Bráhmans were engaged in the recital of the Chandi.* The king, besides the other forms of worship, presented handfuls of real flowers and handfuls too of silver flowers walked round the house in which the idol was lodged seven times, and prostrated himself, and then, as was the custom, seated himself in front of the house on a plantain leaf fetched from the Jagamohan Ghar. But it is impossible to describe the grand assemblies and the wonderful things that transpired in countless places. The gathering on the occasion was, in a word, such as no one had any where seen before. After the pujá was ended, on the tenth day of the moon which was a propitious day, the royal anointing took place. The king took his seat on the throne; the royal umbrella was held over him, and the sceptre was produced. When, in the Kali Yoga, is one ever suffered to behold a king mount the throne? Those who can look on such a sight, regard themselves as most blessed.

Thus in the midst of religious rites and rejoicings the administration of the kingdom went on. In the year 288 Shaká, on the tenth day of the moon [immac-

* Text in honour of Durgá.

diately after the Durgá Pujá], the Gossain Sarbbá-
nanda, being expelled from the palace owing to the
misconduct of some one who had accompanied him,
took up his residence in the lodging of the Khas
Nuvis. He died after some months, at the close of
the year. It was through him that the kingdom had
been rescued from the hands of the Nazir Deo. It
was by his exertions that the entire kingdom of
Behar, with its Chaklās Bodá, &c., was preserved.
He gradually converted some of the lands into brah-
mottar, and others he rendered independent. He
obtained an order from the Government in Calcutta
to re-impose rents on the lands which Mr. Ahmuty
had under false pretences made over to people free of
rent. He had a general survey made of the lands
throughout the kingdom, and made an assessment of
them.

Towards the close of the year 289 Shaká, answer-
ing to the Bengali year 1205, the king was suddenly
seized with an indescribable malady which for some
days confined him to the out-house* in which he lay.
Mr. Ahmuty occupied the second place. The king
generally lived in this house. Mr. M'Callam and
Mr. Wegueler (?) prescribed medicines for him. By
the will of Bhagavat he was well enough in a few
days to return to the palace. At this time Nagendra
Náráin, the Dewán Konwár, died. He was a hand-
some and well-bred man, and died young. The king
conferred the vacant Dewánship on his elder brother
Jibendra Náráin Konwár who had hitherto held the

Nazirship, and placed Gird Páthará under him. He then gave the Nazirship to Amar Deo, and assigned the lands of Pachinágrám for his maintenance. He made Bholáuáth Das, the son of Raghu Bakshi's father by a slave girl, a jemadar, and of his staff of personal attendants which formerly consisted of 20 men and was gradually increased to forty, he appointed almost all to be sepoy, and had them taught the use of the musket by Hindostani sepoy. They formed a company. In that year, he set up a metal image of Jay-tára, and made liberal provision for its worship. The people from various lands sought refuge with the king. The Dinagepore ráj having been broken up, Rámballabh, the son of Kará Majumdár, and Nilu Bakshi came and took refuge in Behar, and the king provided generously for them. After this, Mr. Ahmuty's Dewan, Prán Krishna Bishwás, received the lac of rupees due from Behar. On this account, as well as with a view to make his kingdom independent, the king acting under the advice of Braja Nandan Mustafí, sent Mr. Wegueler and Krishna Prashád Ráya to Calcutta. In the beginning of the year 290 Shaká, answering to 1206, B. E., the king came of age, and an order was received from Calcutta that Chaklás Boda •Pátgrám and Purbabhág should be made over for settlement to him, that is, should be made independent. At this, there were great rejoicings, firings of cannon, and music. The business of the Chaklás was henceforward under the management of the king, and I, the writer of this history, was immediately appointed as his moonshi, and the king showed

me increasing favours, and did many things by my advice.

When Mr. Ahmuty heard of Mr. Wegueler's departure for Calcutta, he was displeased, and attempted to injure the king. He gave possession of the Bhalká Gird to the Bhutias under a decree without any proper settlement, and procured for the Nazir Khagendra Náráin the permission of the British Government to institute a suit for the Chaklás. The latter accordingly instituted a suit in the Court of the Judge of Rungpore. Then when an order came from Calcutta to close the mint, he had it published. Nothing was done on the part of Mr. Wegueler or Krishna Prasád. It was Mr. Ahmuty alone who by his irregular proceedings created all the trouble. Under the advice of Braja Nandan Mustafi, the king adopted the following course: Appointing Guru Prasád Babu to receive a statement of accounts from the Mustafi's elder brother Hara Nandan Hisárya, the accountant, he took away everything from him, and made over the duties of the office to the Babu.

In the month of Pous, the Maháráni Kamateswari died, and the Mahárájá appointed a magnificent shradh for her. Krishna Prasád Rái died at Calcutta. Mr. Wegueler after wasting much money took his departure. After this, Bhawáni Chowdhuri, who had been to Calcutta, returned, and the saheb's anger was appeased. The king having in Aughran 291 Shaká, or 1207, B. E., determined on a marriage with the second grand-daughter of Darpa Deo of Julpiguri and the daughter of the Bijaipur Karji's brother, first

informed the Mustafi and the Khas Nuvis of it ;* but when they pleaded the low state of the finances, he sent for Guru Prasád who declared that he saw no difficulty, and that the marriage should at once be taken in hand. The following day the king sent for me and said : " You must co-operate with Guru Prasád and make the arrangements necessary for this marriage." With the help of the money received from the Babu Mustafi who rendered up his accounts, with money borrowed from the saheb, and with money taken from the rents of the Chaklás, the auspicious marriage was celebrated with great pomp. The new queen went by the name of the Chhota Madhyam Ai Devati (the younger second queen). Guru Prasád rose greatly in the royal favour on account of his conduct in this matter, whereas the Mustafi fell in the royal estimation.

CHAPTER XI.

The administration to be placed in the hands of the Raja. Papers made over to Guru Prasad. Kasimath Lahiri has an interview with the Raja.

• A statement of the young Rájá's age had to be sent to the Governor-General in Council every half year. On a reference to these statements, and having received favourable reports of the Rájá, a Commissioner was deputed by the Council in the month of Magh to place the administration in his hands. The Civil and Criminal Courts, however, were to remain, until

further orders, in charge of the Judge of Rungpore, and the work was to go on as before, under the Maharaja's seal. Mr. Ahmuty sent the news to the Raja through Gouri Prasád Babu. The moment the tidings reached the Raja, he sent for me, and placing me in front of him, gave me the news. I became doubtful when I heard what had been determined in regard to the Civil and Criminal Courts; but I gained confidence, seeing the confidence of the king, and gave myself to the rejoicing. Guns were fired, the choirs of musicians began to play; a Council was held to congratulate the king; alms were distributed, and dancing and singing went on. Owing to Guru Prasád Babu, the Khas Nuvis was not sent for. He was a very important personage. He counted the king's welfare the same as his own, and was a great support to him. ■

At this time the Raja having determined to visit his new palace at Kheti Lukkipur, and after hunting in that neighbourhood, to visit the shrine of Sri Sri Jalpeswar on the Shiva-ratri (the night of the 14th day of the moon's wane in Mágh), said: "Let the saheb meanwhile get the papers ready, and I will give him permission to depart on my return." He then set out on his journey, and I went with him, and Guru Prasád's brother followed after. Staying at Lukkipore for two or three days, the king hunted many buffaloes, rhinoceroses, tigers, and other animals. He also shot pigs, deer, &c., without number. A letter was then received from the saheb along with a petition from Guru Prasád Babu. The letter said: "You

will be so good as to write me a letter, authorizing me to make over charge of all the papers to Guru Prasád Babu, and stating that when you return, you will give me leave to depart." The Maharájá taking me aside, asked me what answer he was to return to the letter. I replied, "If you send the sort of letter that has been asked for, it will be equivalent to dismissing the Khas Nuvis." The king rejoined: "The administration is to be in my hands really, although ostensibly in those of the Khas Nuvis: the Khas Nuvis will only have to consider those matters in which I make any mistake. For the present, let Guru Prasád have the papers. I will consider these things when I get to Behar." Having answered the letter to the above effect, the Rájá paid his visit to the shrine of Sri Sri Jalpeswar and set out for the capital. While on the way back, news came of the arrival of two dancing-girls, Bakshu Begum and Chenti from Calcutta. The king on this said to me: "I will go and assemble my Court at Behar to-day." Accordingly, having pushed on twenty-eight miles, partly on elephant-back, partly in a litter, and partly on horse-back, he assembled his Court at the palace. Guru Prasád Babu after referring to Mr. Ahmuty's departure, produced a draft of a safehnama (deed of release) and a receipt, and said: "O king! Ever since the time of the Commissioner's appointment, he has paid nothing either to them (*sic*) or to his Amlahs. You gave no order for a safehnama to be granted: you only ordered the receipt to be given. Looking into the account of monies in hand, I find that only a few

hundreds of rupees are recorded as being in hand. When I asked for the promissory notes, the Babu replied that they were with the Board of Revenue. I then said that as I could get no account of the Rs. 64,000, I could give no receipt. As the Babu spoke in an independent tone, the saheb answered : " This is not your work." On the following day, he sent Bhaiya Protap Narain Ghosh with a letter to say that the promissory notes for Rs. 64,000 were in Calcutta, and that they might be had whenever they were sent for. The saheb then signed and sealed the receipt, and took his departure. The papers and ready money were taken charge of by Babu Guru Prasád. Mr. Ahmuty, after being present all night at a dance, eloped early in the morning with the wife of Mr. Grant, the Indigo-planter. On reaching Rungpore, he made over the Fouzdari papers and seal to Mr. Archibald (?) Guru Prasád Babu undertook the administration of Behar. He first went to Rungpore with a letter and several documents to pay a visit to the sahebs. On this, a letter was despatched to him, informing him that the Déwan Khángi had come from Rungpore, and had begun to interfere in the administration.

Two days after the saheb had left, Kasinath Lahiri, the Khas Nuvis, went to the king. Immediately on his blessing him by way of salutation, the king bowed and took his seat. The Khas Nuvis then sat down and after mutual inquiries after one another's health, the Khas Nuvis said : " I earnestly wished that your majesty would undertake the government yourself. Now, by the will of Bhagavat, this wish has been

accomplished. I have become old, and am no longer able to labour. I desire now to retire into private life." The Khas Nuvis was the king's servant ; but it is unnecessary to say that the king greatly respected him. He used to call him "my elder brother, the Khas Nuvis." He would not sit exactly opposite to him, but used to shift a little to one side, and instead of looking straight at him when talking, he used to turn his eyes towards some one in the assembly, and then reply to him in words and tones soft and sweet as honey. On the occasion to which reference has just been made, Vishnu Prasád and I were present, together with some other people. When the king spoke in his gentle tones, he sometimes kept looking at me, and at other times at the Bukshi, and said : "I am well aware of all the efforts the Khas Nuvis has made to preserve the kingdom and deliver it from the hands of its enemies ; and I am also aware how earnestly he has desired that I should take the administration of the kingdom into my own hands. This being brought about by the kindness of Sri Sri Bhagavati, the Khas Nuvis's desire has been fulfilled. And undoubtedly it is my duty to administer my own government. But how has the Khas Nuvis come to know that I am competent to discharge these duties ? It is my desire that as my commands are binding on the Khas Nuvis, so his commands may remain binding in respect to the government. Let this be the way in which the business shall be done ; and if in course of time, the Khas Nuvis becomes too feeble to work, he will be at liberty to remain at home and attend to

his mid-day pooja. Whatever orders I issue, whether for good or evil, let them be regarded as if they were his orders. My hope is, that if any matter should go wrong, the Khas Nuvis will set it right again."

At these kind words, the Khas Nuvis was greatly pleased and made answer: "I feel as if the king's words had conferred immortality on me. I came here in the hope of giving up all worldly concerns, but I am now bound by a double force to the world." The king then calling to me said: "Moounshi! The Khas Nuvis has heard all the Puránas read. He is a man of great experience and learning. I am anxious to learn from him something of the art of government. The Khas Nuvis explained the three Shastras according to whose directions the kings and emperors of this Kali yuga have ruled, according to which the governments of the present day must be guided. He spoke like Vishnu expounding the Shánti Parbba to king Yudhisthir. I remember many things, and will detail them in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

Kásinath Lahiri gives advice to the king as to the spirit in which the administration should be conducted. Kásinath's death.

Kásinath Láhiri, the Khas Nuvis, went on to say: "Hear, O king. The king must avail himself of the

influences of the seven great gods, Indra, the god of the air; Surjya, or the sun, Yama, or death; Báyu, or the wind, Varuna, the god of the waters, Chandra, the moon, and Prithi, the earth. As by the rains which Indra sends the earth is flooded for four months, so the king will fill his treasury with riches. As the sun during eight months of the year draws away from the earth the superfluous moisture and so preserves the trees and other things from destruction, so the king will take that amount of revenue from his subjects which will not interfere with the means by which they may support themselves in comfort. And as the wind blows around and through all matter, so the king will by the aid of his officers ascertain the ins and outs of every thing, and learn what the habits and practices of men are. As death comes at the appointed time to all and has no favourites, so the king shall be no respecter of persons, but will judge justly and deal punishment to every offender. As the waters bind all men as with chains, so the king will bind thieves and robbers with fetters. As the moon when she is full gives delight by her rays to all men, so the king will give gladness to all men by distributions out of his treasury, and will remove their troubles and sorrows. As the earth supports all equally, and bears all things, so the king will bear in his own mind the burdens of all his subjects."

The Khas Nuvis further said : "Hear, O king. Four things the king will always seek to increase,—religion, wealth, subjects, and power. The king will abstain from three things,—women, dice, and sleep-

ing during the day. The king will refrain from three things,—sin, disputes, and the society of wicked men. There are four things which the king will look after personally,—his wife, his horses, elephants and other domesticated animals, his gold, and all prisoners. When he holds his council, he will not suffer strangers to be present : he will reveal no secrets : he will avoid being constantly involved in disputes, as otherwise he will never be free from enemies. He will not trust the words of his enemies. The king will issue no commands without taking counsel. As subjects and servants are liable to punishment when they disobey the royal commands, so the king himself should be careful not to incur the guilt of breaking his own commands. He will take counsel of old and pious men. He will avoid taking counsel of ministers who are deceitful and dissolute. The king will not associate with low people. He will preserve his royal dignity, will always ride on horses and elephants, and will protect Brahmans and cows. The heaven or hell of kings depends on their administration of justice ; that is to say, heaven is theirs when they punish justly ; and hell and the overthrow of the kingdom when they punish unjustly. When the king refrains from punishing an evil-doer, he becomes a partaker of his evil deed. He will judge according to the *Dāya Bhāg* and *Danda Bibek* Shastras. He will not regard the interdiction in the *Smṛiti* Śāstra ; but if a Brahman should be found offending, he will punish him as well. Listen to this : when Sri Sri Ram Chandra was ruling in Oudh, a dog one day

came into the midst of the councillors, and begged saying: "I was lying on the public road, when a Brahman struck me with a club and made the blood flow from my head." The Brahman confessed to having done this. The king then said: "Lakhyan! take this Brahman, and make him king of Kalinga." The Brahman groaned. Lakhyan in his astonishment asked: "What is the meaning of this, my Lord?" Raghu Náth made answer: "The king of Kalinga will, in the next birth, be a dog: this is the meaning." Then Lakhyan took the Brahman and made him king of Kalinga. When Raghu of the solar race was king, Shanka Muni being wearied one day, took the plums that belonged to Padma Muni and ate them without permission. Shanka Muni perceiving, however, that he had committed a crime, went to Oudh for the purpose of getting himself punished. Raghu Raja entertained him, gave him a seat of gold, and placed refreshments at his feet. Sankha Muni then said: "I deserve punishment at your royal hands: how can I accept these refreshments from you? Punish me." The king being grieved began to speak words in praise of him, and said: "What right have I to punish a Brahman?" The Muni became angry and replied: "You are an ignorant man, without knowledge. I have been guilty of a theft, and if the king does not administer due punishment for it, I must suffer death." Then Raghu Raja consulted with Vashista, and ordered the Brahman thief to be brought before him, and said: "As his right hand committed the theft, cut it off." The attendant immediately cut off the Muni's

right hand. The Muni regarding the punishment as a just one blessed the king, and on returning to his dwelling, restored his own hand by the power of his devotions ”

The Khas Nuyis went on to say : “ You, O king have heard from the Purānas, of the ancient kings who delivered unjust judgments. After the Mahomedans, in the Kali Yoga, gained possession of Hindostan, the judgments of some of the Mahomedan emperors were very wonderful. Let me mention one or two : The Emperor Nur-uddin Mahomed Jehangir Shah, son of the Emperor Akbar, who was the son of Amir Timur, had a wife, Noor Jehan, who was very beautiful and clever. This is told us by the poets. She was greatly beloved by the Emperor, who regarded every moment of his life lost which was not spent in her society. This Begum had two brothers. One was Subah of Guzerat, and the other was a sort of companion to the emperor. One day, whilst the emperor was in Council, a washerwoman came in from Guzerat and presented a petition to the emperor to the effect that Noor Jehan’s brother, the Subah of Guzerat, had slain her son and carried off his wife. On the Emperor’s reading this petition, he immediately mounted a swift camel, and seating the old washerwoman behind him, started off without saying a word to any one. Nobody knew where he had gone, or for what purpose. After travelling without food for three days and three nights, he halted in the centre of the Chandni Chouk at Guzerat, and made the washerwoman dismount. The

people were dismayed to see a man looking like the sun, seated on the back of the camel. The kotwal, however, recognized him. The Emperor ordered the Subah to be brought before him. By this time the Subah had heard of his arrival, and accordingly he presented himself with a small axe suspended from his neck. On being questioned, he confessed his crime. The Emperor then ordered the kotwal to take the axe that was hanging from the Subah's neck and strike his head off with it. The Subah immediately fell down and expired. The Emperor then ordered a lac of rupees to be taken from the Subah's property and made over to the washerwoman, and after having attended to his devotions and partaken of some food, he mounted a fresh camel, and after a journey of three days and three nights, returned to Delhi. But he said nothing to any body. Some days after, Noor Jehan's second brother committed some offence, on account of which the kazis condemned him to have melted lead poured into his ears. As soon as Noor Jehan heard of the sentence, she hastened in great distress to the Emperor, and throwing herself on the ground and covering herself with dust, entreated him to save her brother's life. Noor Jehan being greatly beloved, the Emperor rose quickly and seizing her in his arms, began to wipe off the dust with his own garments and dry her tears, and after having done this repeatedly, he said to her : " You are most dear to me ; what request of yours is there that I would not grant ? Tell me to whom you wish the empire given, to whom you wish all my wealth given,

to whom you wish me to rend my bosom and surrender my life. I will do whatever you desire. The only thing I cannot do, is to violate that justice which is to me a sacred trust. But in consideration of your entreaties, I can do this : The kazis have ordered molten lead to be poured into your brother's ears ; let molten gold be used instead." The Begum on hearing this, retired without saying another word, and the Emperor had her brother punished. In course of time, Jehangir's son rose to eminence and power, and was successful in a war with the Ráná. The Emperor himself had gone out on foot to meet him, and distributed valuable presents with a view to secure his prosperity. One day as the prince was riding out on horseback, the son of a poor old woman happened to be trodden on by his horse and killed. The woman in her distress went and complained to the Emperor. The Emperor on ascertaining her statement to be correct, sent for the prince, and making him over to the bereaved woman, said : " As my son has caused the death of your son, I make him over to you, to do with as you please." The woman took the prince by the hand and led him away. The prince, trained to obedience, went away with the woman. The assembled people all gave expression to their sorrow, but seeing the anger impressed on the Emperor's countenance, not one of them dared remonstrate with him. The Begums sent money and jewels to the old woman in the hope that she would be induced to release the prince ; but this she declined to do. Taking him by the hand, she led him four times

round the dead body of her son ; then releasing him, she said : “ Go : I have made a sign round my son, and I have saved your life.” Thus the prince managed to escape.

The Khas Nuvis continued : “ Nothing is of higher importance in a king than the administration of justice. The officers of the Company now rule the country, and they pay great attention to their duties. Never before was the country governed in so systematic and orderly a manner. However extensive the Company’s dominions, nothing is done in them, whether great or small, without the sanction and knowledge of the Governor in Council. There is nothing in any branch of the administration that can be done without his consent. The laws and rules are so constructed, that it is impossible for any one to break through them, and this is how everything must be known to the Governor in Council and receive his assent. The revenue collections are so systematically provided for, that each man pays just the amount due from him, and no one can take from him one cowri more than what is right, and their subjects are happy. If Your Majesty will see to it, that the revenue assessment I have made of the lands of Cooch Behar is observed, and nothing is demanded in excess of this rate, and that your subjects are not oppressed, then the number of your subjects will daily increase, and your revenues will increase. Otherwise, your kingdom will come to ruin. Mr. Ahmuty has said to me : ‘ Let the Maharaja pay a subsidy of one lac of rupees, and if he gives currency in the country to

Sicca rupees, then a settlement can be come to for Rs. 63,000. On this, I thought that if the subsidy is to be in Sicca rupees, then there can be no hope of retaining the mint for Náráin rupees, and on this account I did not agree to the proposition. As long as there is a chance of the Náráini rupee remaining the current coin, so long it will not be right to pay the subsidy in Sicca rupees. When it is no longer likely that we shall be able to keep up the mint, then it may be determined to pay 63,000 Sicca rupees. The Criminal Court will remain at Rungpore, and it will continue in the hands of the Maharaja."

Much advice of this kind was given, and the king was delighted. The Khas Nuvis, blessed him and retired. As he passed along the road, Vishnu Prasád Bakshi, Kailás Nath Dharmádhyakhya, the Bhandár Thákoor, and I, were following behind him. He called to us and said : "It is plainly written in the Yogini Tantra that the people of Kailás will receive birth into the family of Bishwa Singha, and find happiness. One can tell from the traits of character that mark the king that he must be one of the inhabitants of Kailás and is destined to be good and great."

The Khas Nuvis did not long remain here. At the close of the month of Cheyt, he went to Rungpore to give evidence in the suit brought by Jagat Set's firm. Here he grew weak, and having applied by letter to the king for permission to leave those parts, he went, accompanied by Kásinath Kabiráj, to the Ganges. At length, in the month of Assár, he ex-

pired, being at the time in perfect possession of his senses, in the neighbourhood of the Babardhan factory on the western bank of the Karatayá river. When the king heard of his death, he was greatly moved. As was the king, so had been the counsellor, wise, godly and generous.

CHAPTER XIII.

Guru Prasád carries on the duties of Dewan. Manner in which the Mahárajá divided his time. Guru Prasád offends the Mahárajá and is removed from office.

On the death of Kasinath Lahiri the khas-nuvis, Guru Prasád Babu, carried on the duties of the dewan. The Mahárajá held interviews every morning with learned men from various countries, and after taking his usual draught of milk, he took his seat in the bytukkhána. He engaged all who went to see him here in conversation on the various Shastras and Puránas. He had been very fond of pictures from his infancy, and certain painters used to be seated near him, painting various pictures at his command. He sometimes painted with his own hand. From that time also the Rajá had shown poetical power, and had been given to translating Sanskrit books into Bengali verse. He used also to write songs set to various styles of music. Occasionally he used to have the papers of my Munshikhána read to him, and he used to sign them. Then the

Dewan Guru Prasád Rai used to come and speak to him on State matters in connection with the Dewan duties. After having heard the papers read, he used to sign them, and order them to be sealed. On receiving the oil, he dismissed the assembly, and after his bath and morning devotions, he dressed himself and retired to the inner apartment for his meal. After his breakfast, he took his seat, sometimes in the three-storied dullán, sometimes in the Ranga Mandir or bytukkhaná. All people were not admitted here. Amusement was provided in the shape of recitals of poetry and various sports and pastimes. Sometimes dancing-girls danced before him ; at other times he went out hunting. He had issued special orders that he should be informed whenever the people became aware of the presence of a tiger or rhinoceros or buffalo. Immediately on receiving information, he went out, and either himself contrived a snare for the beast, or shot it with a gun. Whatever he shot at he was sure to kill, for there was no missing with him.

Thus matters went on very comfortably under his Government. The daughters of the gods, who had practised religious austerities for long years, took birth in India, and, in course of time, were married to the Mahárajá and bore him sons. In the year 292, Shaká, corresponding with the year 1208 B. E., at the beginning of the year, the Dewan Guru Prasád Rai assumed office. Jibitra Narain Dewan Deo used to receive a salary of Rs. 150 as companion to the late king. Having obtained the dewanship, he was put

in charge of Girda Páitchhará, where he was persuaded by the evil counsels of wicked men to behave in a disrespectful manner to the king. Although the king at first regarded this conduct with contempt, he at length ordered Harish Pujári, one of the Dewan's evil-advisers, to be brought, and having had his head shaved, published the fact abroad. Other evil-disposed men were also controlled. The Dewan Deo preferred a complaint to Rungpore through a vakeel, and brought Mr. Montgomery to Behar. After he had acquainted himself with all the particulars, he reported the matter to the Governor in Council. A letter was received from there to the effect that the proceeding had been improper. For a long time the Mahárajá refused to allow the Dewan Deo to come into his presence. After a time, however, he graciously forgave the Dewan Deo.

One day in the year 1208, an extensive robbery was committed in the store-house, and several people lost their lives, but the robbers were ultimately seized and brought away from the borders of Bootan. Guru Prasád Babu began to grow very arrogant. He undertook to govern the country according to his own pleasure, and was very avaricious. He became guilty of many improprieties in connection with the administration. Hara Nandan Hisáriyá, Braja Nandan Mustafi, and Bholánáth Jemádár, began to betray hostility. The lands which Gossain Sarbba Nanda and others had fraudulently been enjoying rent-free, and which were afterwards made rent-paying, and the revenue of them paid in to the State, were re-

leased by Guru Prasád on receiving a bribe. . These matters were disclosed to the Rajá in the year 293, Shaká, or 1209, B. E., and he was very angry. One day in the month of Aghrán, being in the presence of the king, I was speaking in his behalf, when Guru Prasád said many disrespectful things. The king on hearing these things, grew very angry, and immediately dismissed the assembly. He went to the Singha Darwázá, and there his anger broke forth, and his counsellors all trembled. On the following day, Hirá Lál who belonged to the party of Jaya Gopal Singha who was formerly Mr. Douglas's dewan, being present, proposed to fetch Joy Gopál Singh. The Rajá then called me to him, and commanded me to write a letter on the subject to Mr. Douglas. Two or three days later, Jamáit Lal and Golab Singh, mace-bearers, were despatched secretly with the letter. Meanwhile Hara Nandan Hisáriyá and Braja Nandan Mustafi disclosed Guru Prasád Babu's misdeeds to the king in a hundred and seventy-eight slokes, and preferred a claim against the Babu for a lac of rupees. Guru Prasád Raya having been removed from the dewan's office, Rádhá Krishna Láhiri was appointed dewan, and the government was carried on in accordance with the commands of the king.

CHAPTER XIV.

Joy Gopal Singh assumes office. He is succeeded by Choa Lal Sarkar. The king gives himself to amusements. The duties of the Criminal Court are made over to him by the Company. The Sagar Dighi. The Nazir Deo has a monthly allowance and land assigned to him. Changes consequent on the death of Choa Lal.

After these things, in the month of Cheyt, Joy Gopál Singh came and assumed office ; but he upset all the well-ordered rules and practices observed in the administration. Formerly, he never accepted presents. Now, however, although he stopped up his ears with his fingers when any small offer was made, he never rejected a large offer. Behaving in this faithless way, he took Rs. 14,000 belonging to the State. It being my duty to have charge of the Rajá's personal expenditure, I took notice of this, and Joy Gopál was offended with me. Seeing how matters stood, I desisted from further controversy and retired.* Joy Gopál Singh, however, continued dewan for two and a half years. Mr. Francis Preyre (?) at the request of the government at Calcutta came to Behar, and after informing the Rajá of the object of his visit, took over the Court in the name of the Company. This did not accord with the Rajá's views, and Mr. Sage likewise came to arrange the matter, but after some days he desisted from further action. The people who attended the king's durbar during the time when Joy Gopál Singh held office, were opposed to the measure.

Bholá Jemadar who had gradually risen to favour, received the title of General, and took command of the army. He advised the king in all State matters according to his ability. At this time, Rám Chandra Káit Karji, left the place on his own private business.

In course of time, the Rajá married the Aí Devati of Bodá and the Aí 'Devati of Sital Khuchi. The Dewan Joy Gopal Singh died in the year 296, Shaká, answering to the year 1212 B. E. His body was not buried ; it was devoured by dogs and jackals. Choá Lál Sarkar, as his brother's son, succeeded him in the dewán's office, and began to administer the business of the State, although the real power was in the hands of Bholánáth. The king was constantly going out hunting, or taken up with dances and sundry other amusements. Dancing-girls, dancing-boys, buffoons, professional singers without number, came. Not a day passed without religious ceremonies, theatrical representations, and other entertainments and festivities. There were always music and fire-works going on. People could turn nowhere without noticing that some kind of amusement or festivity was proceeding. Thus the king ruled, enjoying himself in various ways.

In the Bengali year 1212, Lord Cornwallis returned to Calcutta as Governor-General. He ordered that the Criminal Court of Behar, whose duties had been assumed by the Judge of Rungpore, should be restored to the Rajá, and wrote a letter to say that the duties of the Court should be placed in the hands of the Rajá who should discharge them by means of

his own officers. In case any difficult question should arise, the Rajá would communicate with the Governor in Council through the Commissioner, and suitable counsel would be given. At that time, the Collector of Rungpore was a Mr. Montgomery, who having made over to the Collector of this place the Fouzdari seal and papers, took a receipt for them, and the business of the Court was made over to the Dewan Rádhá Krishna Láhiri. The work of the Fouzdari Court was placed in the hands of the Dewan Choá Lál.

The superiority of Behar as a State now began to assert itself. It stood unrivalled among the kingdoms of Hindostan for the manner in which criminal law was administered under the instructions of the pundits, and offenders received their due punishment. Under the Rajá's authority, death by hanging was the penalty inflicted on special criminals. The Courts Civil and Criminal being conducted according to the commands of the king, the kingdom remained in profound peace. In the year 298, Shaka, or 1214, B. E., a large tank, called the " Ságar Dighi," was excavated, and on its western bank a temple was erected for the worship of the Shiva-linga, provision being at the same time made for the support of that worship. The tank was consecrated with great pomp, and a large sum of money was expended upon it. The tank to this day retains its fame, and its water is so sweet that the people who drink it become very fond of it.

By this time Bholánáth Senápatí had risen to great eminence. In reference to the complaint that

had been made by the Nazir Khagendra Náráin on the subject of the 9 annas 10 cowris, the Governor in Council admirably decided that the Mahárajá ruled alone in his own dominions ; that no one shared that dominion with him ; that the Nazir Deo should receive a monthly allowance of Rs. 500, and that he should have land assigned him to the extent of two miles from Balarampore in each of the four directions, in all 8 miles ; but that the administration of the country should remain exclusively in the hands of the Mahárajá. This was the purport of the letter. Accordingly Shiva Gobinda Majumdár marked off the land that was given to the Nazir, and the king continued to rule without any trouble.

During this year, Choá Lál died. Rádhá Krishna Lahiri became dewán ; Guru Prasád Babu was appointed head of the Criminal administration ; the Civil Court was placed in the hands of Duná Rám ; and Braja Nandan Mustafi took charge of the Account Department.

CHAPTER XV.

The Rajá's marriage. The removal of the capital to Bhitaguri. The treatment Mr. Douglas receives. Mr. McLeod is sent from Calcutta.*

Thus the Mahárajá continued to rule in comfort. He was powerful like Indra, and as glorious as Rávana.

He was liberal in his charities ; and people from many lands took refuge at his Court. He made a suitable selection of those who were to be his companions, and maintained them. Nawab Syud Mehndi Khan, commonly known as the Nawab Ján, the son of the brother of the Nawáb Syud Mahomed Reza Khan Mozuffur Jung Bahadoor, took up his permanent residence at the Rajá's Court. The king provided for him with befitting splendour. Wealthy men of various countries, leading merchants, learned and famous Pandits, were to be found in the royal assemblies, and they occupied themselves in discussing the Shastras and the characters and actions of the kings and emperors of former times. The civil and criminal administration of the country was well conducted. Two or three years after, in the year 301 Shaká, or 1217 B. E., owing to the accusations made by wicked men, the king became displeased with Radha Krishna Lahiri, who accordingly resigned the Dewanship. At first, Braja Nandan Mustafi sought to obtain the office but he did not succeed, and Guru Prasád became Dewan. The king then appointed me to the office of Revenue Serishtádár. It was from this office that I came to join my present appointment. The Dewan Guru Prasád Rái was also put in charge of the Revenue and Criminal Departments. Duláram conducted the duties of the Civil Court. Bholánáth Sonápati began to lose his influence with the king, and Ram Prasád Munshi gradually grew into favour. In the year 302 Shaká, Guru Prasád Babu had conferred on him the privilege of the drum and ensign,

and received the title of Ameerun Omrao Madarul Mahamm and thus attained great eminence.

At the close of that year the Mahárájá entered into a marriage which was celebrated with great magnificence, with the daughter of the king of a place called Bootan, within the Nepal territory. She received the title of Sri Srimati Bara Maháráni. The Dewan Deo after this behaved improperly towards the Rajá, and said many evil things concerning the king, representing to the Government of Calcutta through Mr. Douglas, the Collector of Rungpore, that because Harish Pujári had forgotten the punishment that had overtaken him and had sought to injure the king, he had been seized and imprisoned for a short while, and that after that he died.

The Rájbari having at this time become dilapidated, the Rajá in the year 303 Shaka, or 1219 B. E., established his capital and built a splendid residence for himself at a place called Bhitáguri, situated on a bend of the river between the talooks of Singhijáni and Moámári. Here temples and mansions were erected, and the Rajá built many beautiful temples. The people of Behar removed to Bhitáguri and settled there, deeming it a suitable place of residence. In the month of Aughran, during the full-moon of Kartick, on the evening of the day of the Rás-játrá, the Rajá made his first entry into his new palace. He was accompanied by hundreds of horsemen and men on elephants. Datodaká whom people call Mánsáhi, having arrived at a propitious moment, entered the palace. The Rás játrá was celebrated

there. The Dewan Guru Prasád Rái, with his subordinate officials, took up his quarters at Gossaingunge. The other ministers, the merchants, the Bráhmaṇ Pandits, and thousands of other people, settled down at Bhitáguri. The bazars were handsomely got up, public roads were constructed, tanks were excavated, police-stations were established here and there, temples were erected for the worship of the gods, flower-gardens sprang up, and in a short space of time the place looked as if it had been the Amarpura of Indra. The king lived happily.

Mr. Douglas came to Behar accompanied by his Dewán Rám Mohan Rái, at the request of the Government in Calcutta, to inquire into the subject of the petition preferred by the Dewan Deo, and encamped opposite Bhitáguri on the other side the river. Fearing lest Mr. Douglas might have an interview with the king and further misunderstanding be stayed, the Dewan, Guru Prasád Babu, was the first to set out with a large body of sepoy, burkundazes, chobdars, and chuprasies, to pay a visit to the saheb. A chuprasi under instructions from the saheb, said: "Only a few men can be admitted: you must not enter with this large retinue." The Dewan abused the man. Then one of the saheb's club-bearers advanced and said: "We must tell you what the saheb has interdicted. You may ride in, but your people must remain here, otherwise you will not obtain an interview with the saheb." On this the Dewan grew very angry and turned back. To spite the saheb, he stopped his supplies of provisions,

sending word to the saheb's people to go and make their own purchases at Bhitáguri. At the same time he withdrew the ferry-boats that plied across the river, to prevent the saheb's men from going across to make their purchases. Mr. Douglas, however, and Rám Mohan Rái obtained supplies from Mogul Hát, and after two or three days returned to Rungpore. The Dewan Guru Prasád Rái intent on mischief, again went to Rungpore, but found no opportunity to carry out his purpose. The saheb's anger was not appeased. The matter was reported to Calcutta, and Mr. McLeod was appointed to investigate it. In the year 1220, in the month of Pous, he came to Behar, and many questions were debated. His Dewan was a man by the name of Moulvi Asámút Ullá Khán. At this time Guru Prasád Babu and Rám Prasád Munshi had agreed together to promote a misunderstanding. The saheb acting, however, under instructions from Calcutta, and according to the evil counsel of the Moulvi, himself took charge of the Fouzdari Court of Behar. Having first taken the deposition of Guru Prasád Babu, he sent him away from Behar to Rungpore; and after keeping Rám Prasád Babu in confinement for a few days, he sent him to Rungpore where he was imprisoned. Rádhá Krishna Láhiri was then appointed Dewan, and the saheb having come and encamped on the other side of the river opposite Bhitáguri, in front of the Rajbári, with two companies of sepoy, two guns, and some Europeans, immediately wrote to the Rajá, inviting him to an interview. The Rajá had at the

time seven companies of sepoy in his pay. The saheb did not interfere with the old companies; but he ordered out all the other sepoy, on pretence of giving them their pay, and deprived them of their muskets and cartridge-pouches. On the third day, the Maharájá went across the river to have an interview with the saheb. The people were greatly alarmed seeing that the saheb had come with guns and troops. They did not know what he might do, and there was not a man in Behar that day who did not shed tears. The saheb on meeting the Rajá, said: "The Governor-General is displeased. You had better make over the Court to the Company." The Maharájá replied: "I will give you an answer after I have considered the matter," and so saying he returned home. Mr. McLood after this used threats and oppression; and when the Rajá found that there was no help for it, he addressed a letter to the saheb agreeing to his proposal, and made over to him the seal of the Criminal Court. The saheb on receiving charge of the Criminal Court, then complained to the Maharájá that the Dewan, Rádhá Krishna Lahiri, was too soft-hearted a man for his place, and that he was therefore not qualified to discharge the duties of his office, and recommended that Moulvi Asámut-Ullá Khan should be made Dewan. The Maharájá, however, did not agree to this, and said to the Lahiri, the Dewan: "You will not be able to remain here longer. You must remove elsewhere." He also said to me: "I do not wish you to remain here." The Lahiri and I were accordingly obliged to retire to

Rungpore. The Rajá had told us to remain at Rungpore, and devise some means by which the present difficulties might be got over. The business of the chuklas was conducted from there. Only the Khangimehals of Behar were under the management of the Raja: the business relating to all other lands was in the hands of Asámut-Ulla Khan who acted under the instructions of the Bara Kachwa. The Criminal Court was presided over by the saheb in person. No one had the courage to be with the Rajá. If any one dared to say a word in favour of the Rajá, he was carried off to Dinhátá, and there imprisoned. Moreover, certain Europeans finding their way to the capital, began to commit outrages. The king giving himself up to religious study, never uttered a complaint to any one, but merely contemplated the feet of Durgá, the deliverer from troubles. His only reply when questioned by people was, "Let God's will be done." He never sent an answer to any of the letters written to him by the saheb, but invariably made the excuse that he had no personal attendant to write a reply. He even declined to see the saheb as often as the latter proposed an interview. The saheb taking two companies of Captain Taylor's sepoy, built a house for himself at Dinhátá, where he remained two years and some months.

CHAPTER XVI.

Complaints against Mr. McLeod.—The Governor-General at length desires that Mr. McLeod should withdraw from all interference in the criminal administration of the state.

The Láhiri Dewan continued at Rungpore, and I was the only one that remained with him. We had no opportunity to make any inquiries. None of the amlahs of Behar held any communication with us, their excuse being that it would be displeasing to Mr. McLeod.

At this time the Governor-General, Lord Moira, went to the North-West Provinces. Formerly, Lieutenant-General Nugent Burnet (?) was the Vice-President. A letter was addressed to him, and another to Lord Moira which was sent by Lakkhi Nárain Chowdhuri. Rás Bohári Sarkár was the vakeel at Calcutta. At length a reply came to the letter which had been addressed to the President, which stated that Mr. McLeod had acted in all respects according to the wishes of the Government, and that none of his acts could be disallowed.

Lakkhi Nárain Chowdhuri took this answer with him to Cawnpore where he laid it before Lord Moira. Lord Moira replied that although it was true that Mr. McLeod had but been obeying the instructions he had received from Calcutta, yet the subject was worthy of consideration. Rás Behári left Calcutta without permission and returned to his home. Románath Láhiri was after consideration subsequently de-

puted to convey a letter from the Maharájá to Calcutta. At this time Mr. Ireland (?) was the Vice-President. He was Mr. McLeod's brother-in-law, and Mr. McLeod's wife was living in his house. When Románath Láhiri delivered the Rajá's letter, the Vice-President made himself acquainted with its contents and replied : "An answer has already been sent. You can return." The Láhiri said : "I have not come because you sent for me. My master the Maharájá has sent me, and I cannot return without his orders." On this the Vice-President rejoined : "Do as you please."

On Mr. McLeod's representations, an order was forwarded to Mr. Scott, the Judge of Rungpore, requiring to have Rádhá Krishna Láhiri and Guru Prasád Babu removed from Rungpore on the ground that they gave evil counsel to the Rájá from there. Guru Prasád Babu was accordingly removed. The Láhiri Dewan, however, somehow contrived to remain on.

It was now rumoured that Lord Moira was about to return from the North-West. Letters were accordingly written to him, detailing the manner in which Mr. McLeod had usurped the entire criminal administration and was with his Dewan oppressing the country. The Major Saheb at Titalya also wrote a letter to Calcutta to say, that the Maharájá was not at war with the Company, and that he had no soldiers who could fight; and that notwithstanding, Mr. McLeod was detaining two companies of sepoy and guns in Behar with a view to coerce the Rájá. At length Lord Moira having returned to Calcutta,

Románath Láhiri contrived to convey to him a letter from the Rájá and a copy of his English petition. On this, the Secretary was displeased, and prohibited him from coming to his house. For two years, circumstances remained unpropitious. At last a propitious time dawned, and Lord Moira having considered all the letters and discussed the matter in Council for two days, came to the conclusion that Mr. McLeod had acted oppressively, and had usurped the entire administration. He accordingly ordered that the Maharájá should carry on the business of the Fouzdari Court by means of his own officers, and that Mr. McLeod should withdraw from all interference; that the payment of the tribute was the principal matter, and that it would be time to consider what ought to be done, when the Rájá failed to pay that. On the day in which the news of this decision reached Rungpore, the joy seemed greater than that which had ever possessed us since we had been born. Rádhá Krishna Láhiri immediately despatched men to Behar. Before Mr. McLeod heard the news, there had been a prohibition against making it public. The Maharájá at first desired that it should not be proclaimed. But it was impossible to contain the news that humbled an enemy, and was so favourable to the Rájá. All the sweetmeats that were to be had in the bazar were brought into the temples or carried to the houses of the people for consumption. The Rájá took his seat in the assembly at half-past eight o'clock at night, to witness the dancing; and from that time till morning, a hundred guns were fired.

The people for a distance of two prohurs' journey all round never went to sleep.

Mr. McLeod guessed the cause of the rejoicing. He had previously desired that there should be an amicable arrangement of the dispute; and now he sought it more earnestly than ever. Letters at length reached him in obedience to which he sent for the Lahiri and the Dewan from Rungpore, and having erected a tent at a place called Putimári half-way between the Rajbári and Dinbátá, met the Dewan there in the month of Assar in the year 307 Shaká or 1223 B. E., and delivered to him the letter of the Government and the seal of the Fouzdari Court. The Rájá put every thing into the hands of the Lahiri, and gave him a present of elephants, horses, &c. The business of the Dewan's Court was entrusted to the Bara Sahob. Not long after, Mr. McLeod changing places with the Judge of Rungpore, was appointed Judge of that place, whilst Mr. Scott came to Behar. When Mr. McLeod made over charge to the Rájá, the Company had to receive a lac of Rupees from the Rájá. The money was gradually paid. Ram Prasád Munshi was in some sort released and got re-instated into office. And now the time passed pleasantly in dancing, singing and other enjoyments.

CHAPTER XVII.

Changes among the officers of the State. The Rájá sets out to bathe in the Ganges. He builds a palace at Dhaliyábári. More changes among the State officials.

In the year 1227, the Bara Madhyam Aí died. Hari Prasád Rái was the Sahib's Dewan. He was appointed in the year 310 Shaká, or 1226 B. E. to the office of Ahilkar and Khangí (superintendence of the Khangí lands). At this time, the Lahiri Dewan's duties included the duties of Ahilkar or chief Judge of Behar, the management of the Chaklas and the hearing of appeals. The royal Srimati Ishwari Aí now returned from Benares; the Madhyam Maháráni also got married. During this year, Jibendra Náráin Konwár died, and his son Shaibendra Náráin Konwar became Dewán Deo. In the year 1228, Hari Prasád Rái returned to his own country. His nephew Gour Babu undertook the management of the Khangí lands; Rám Ratna Munshi entered upon the Fouzdari duties; and Kalí Chandra Bábu, the eldest son of the Dewán Rádhiá Krishna Láhiri, made the Punnyaha collections and entered upon his duties as Dewan. Towards the close of the year, the Maharájá set out to bathe in the Ganges. Before he set out on his journey, he gave orders for the erection of a new palace at Dhaliyábári in Ratnapoot on the north of the Mán-sái, where Mahárájá Upendra Náráin had built a palace. The Rájá travelled accompanied

by several pinnaces, budgerows and lai-dinghis. Wherever and whenever the party put to, immediately a market supplying all kinds of things sprang up. The people on either bank of the river were surprised to see the crowd of boats.

Ram Prasád Munshi died during this year. Shib Prasád Bakshi, the son of Raghu Prasád Bakshi who was brother's son to Vishnu Prasád Bakshi, was appointed to the office of munshi. The responsibility of the administration rested with the Dewan Rádhá Krishna Láhiri.

The royal journey began in the month of Falgoon. After distributing charities at Jangipur on the Ganges, the Rájá returned in the month of Assar. The people all set out on foot to meet him and bring him back. The Rájá then started with much *eclát* for Dhaliyábári. He did not at once enter the new palace, but for some days remained in a little house that had been built on the banks of the river. The place was named Jiránpur. At length, at an auspicious moment, the Rájá entered the new Rájbári. Other splendid mansions and temples sprung up all around. The bazars &c., that had been formed at Bhitáguri, were removed to the new place, and the city became beautiful to look at. The Punnyaha collections of the year 1229 were made at Bhitáguri Dhaliyabári. The rains of that year were unprecedentedly heavy, and there was an inundation. In the month of Magh, the Dewan Rádhá Krishna Láhiri retired, leaving Kali Chandra Lahiri to discharge the duties of Dewan, and went on a journey

to Benares where he still lives and is known as the Chhota Bishweshwar. Kali Chandra Láhiri from that time continued to discharge the duties of Dewan. In the year 1230, Shyám Chundra Rai's son, Gakul Chandra Rái came to Behar, and, making himself known as an old servant of the State, became Ahilkar of the Civil Court, and accountant of the Khangi revenues. Paramánanda Baboo was appointed to take charge of the accounts of the Mál lands, and to superintend the Chuklas. The Bárá Sáheb from that time continued to preside over the Appellate Court.

The Rájá now sent for a Guzerati girl whom he married. A superb temple was in course of construction at Dhaliyábári, which, however, has not been completed. Loknáth Rái conducted the duties of the Fouzdári Court for a few days, after which the Dewan Hari Prasád Rai came and was appointed, as formerly, to the office of Ahilkár. He was a very eminent and far-seeing officer, and discharged his duties admirably. Gakul Chandra Rái, the officer presiding over the Civil Court having died, his younger brother Gowránga Chandra Rái became Ahilkár, and from this time the Court rose in public reputation. In the year 1233, the Dewan Káli Chandra Láhiri, having at the request of the Rájá left Rám Chandra Babu, his younger brother, to carry on the duties of Dewan in his place, went to Calcutta in order to secure a re-opening of the mint. Having had an interview with the Governor-General, he was honourably received and returned to Behar after five years. He was great in counsel. He was in the Rájá's

council what Arastu the Prime Minister of Alexander the Great used to be. Nityananda Bábu, the great grandson of Baidya Rájá Ráj Ballabh, came to the Rájá's Court and took up his permanent abode there. Every token of respect was shown him. The Shahzadá from Delhi came on a visit and he returned after having been entertained with great honours. Mohamed Hossain Khan, the son of the Prime Minister of Iran, also came for a short time, and returned with presents of shawls, money, &c. The hákim Káim Ali was sent for from Goruckpore and engaged as a servant of the State. He was a very celebrated physician, and was among the hákims what Gangá Prasád Kabiráj, the son of Kásinath Kabiráj was among the Kabirájes. From the time of the Rájá's return from his pilgrimage to the Ganges, Shib Prasád Bakshi had the management of all the affairs of the State. He was a very wise, prudent and religious man, and sought the good of both king and subjects. He was a most faithful servant to the Rájá, and many State measures were the result of his counsel.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The new palace in old Behar. The erection of idol-shrines. Fresh arrangements made for the administration. The circulation of the Narami rupee is continued. The Rájá reads the present history.

The Maharaja now erected a palace for himself in old Behar, his birth-place and former residence. He

went there for the first time and settled there in the beginning of the year 819 Shaka, or 1235 B. E. Many beautiful temples and houses were built. The dimensions of the Rájbari were four times the size of the original Rájbari. Separate Court-houses were also erected. In one place was the office relating to the Chuklas ; in another, the office of the Khangí lands : in another, the Civil Court ; and in another the Fouzdari Court. There was a place for his horses, a place for his elephants, a place for his cows, and a place for his camels. In front of the palace gate, there were three companies of sepoy's on guard under the command of the Resaldar Jagarnáth Singh. On the south of the inner apartments, was a delightful flower-garden, in the midst of which was a pleasure-house fitted up with chandeliers and lamps and pictures. A gate opening into the palace from outside led to the Gharikhána and Nahabatkhana which had been erected within. That gate, moreover, opened out upon a wide street, at the further end of which there were countless shops and dwellings of trades-people of all castes along either side of the street. These made a beautiful bazar. On the northern side of this road, temples were erected, and the shrines already existing, were brushed up. Along the other streets were the houses of the officers and ministers of the State. Thus the Maharaja dwelt happily in the midst of his countless people.

The king's eldest son Shibendra Náráin Konwár the Bara Sahab, excavated a tank immediately on the north of the Rajbari, and built a beautiful residence

for himself there. Mahendra Náráin Konwár and Rajendra Náráin Konwár also built suitable houses for themselves, where they lived in great comfort. The Chhota Madhyam Ai Devati and the Madhyam Maharani died after the removal to old Behar. The Ai who had returned from Benares, had previously established an image of Durgá. She subsequently built a temple to Durga at Bámanhát, and a temple to the Shiva Linga on the banks of a tank which she had excavated at Gunjátábári and sought to give prominence to the services of these temples. The other Ais established idols according to their several desires and provided liberally for the support of the idol-services. Moreover in the year 322 Shaká or 1238 B. E., the Mahárajá carried out his desire to erect a beautiful temple to Durgá, the mother of the world and the giver of the lights of knowledge, under the name of Sri Sri Anandamoyi Kali. This image gives gladness to those who behold it, and extinguishes all sorrow. It is unnecessary to describe the imposing ceremonial connected with her worship. The service was conducted again as it used to be conducted before. At the back of this temple, a tank was dug and on its banks a beautiful house was built where the Rájá almost always remained. He sometimes came to the temple and required the singers to sing hymns in praise of Káli, when his eyes used to be filled with tears of joy and he kept constantly looking towards the image of Anandamoyi Káli, the mother of the world. His mind was always entirely occupied in thinking of Káli, and hoping in Káli, and trusting

in Káli, contemplating Káli, and knowing Káli. This was the frame of mind in which he spent his days. I have not the power to depict his frame of mind.

After the auspicious return to Behar, the following arrangements were made for the administration of the state. In the absence of Gowránga Chandra Rái, a well-known man by the name of Ramsundar Rái discharged the duties of the Civil Court. He, however, withdrew from the country secretly, and Tárini Mohan Rái belonging to the family of the Khás Navis, Maládeb Rái, the Tepáwálá Zemindar, obtained the post. After discharging the duties uprightly for some years, he lost the appointment, and in the year 1239, the Rájá appointed the Dewán Rám Chandra Láhiri to the Court, who conducted its duties with great ability and introduced many good rules for its guidance. Since that time, the Court has flourished. Hari Prasád Rái died in the month of Falgoon during this year at a very advanced age, and his grand-nephew Guru Charan Rái, has since been discharging the Fouzdari duties.

All matters connected with the administration of justice in the State have been carefully and successfully governed by the ancient *Ráj-dharma*, or duty of kings, that is, by the *Danda-Bibek*, the *Bibád Chintámani*, the *Dáya Bhág*, &c., regard being had to peculiarities of time and place; and by this means the condition of the people is improving, the State is being benefited, and the royal treasury is flourishing. At this time, an order came from Calcutta to the effect that as instead of the coins current in the states of the

friendly Rájás of Hindostan, it was found almost every where to be more convenient to give currency to the old sicca Rupee of the Company, it was accordingly the wish of the Government that the circulation of the Náráini rupee in the Mahárajá's territory should cease, and that the aforesaid sicca rupee should be introduced. As the Mahárajá considered that the withdrawal from circulation of his Náráini rupee would have the effect of injuring the country, as well as of lowering him in public estimation, he did not agree to the arrangement, and stated his views to the Government through the agent. The Governor-General praised the Mahárajá, and consented to the Náráini rupee issued in the name of the Mahárajá being continued in circulation. The result was that the Mahárajá rose in the respect with which he was regarded everywhere.

At this time, the Dewan Rádhá Krishna Láhiri having died at Benares, the Rájá was grieved to hear of it.

I the writer, having brought my history of the Cooch Behar Royal Family down to this point, made it over to the Mahárajá to see. The Mahárajá having looked through the book from beginning to end, was pleased and in the presence of others said to me in the kindest tones : " The Ráhoó Time had well nigh seized the Moon of Fame of my ancestors, but by your means their forgotten histories have been embodied in a permanent form. I am greatly pleased at this, and am well aware of the labour it has cost you. As a reward for having restored in a permanent form the

fame of the kings of the race of Bishwa, I confer on you and your posterity in perpetuity certain lakheraj land in Panchgram." The Mahárájá added : " You must bring the history down to my death." I replied with folded hands : " I have served your Majesty from my childhood and have now reached old age ; and now I would consider if a reward including all four blessednesses, to lie down and die at your lily-feet. It would be a terrible misfortune for me to behold your death, and it would be regarded by me in the light of punishment for some sin I had committed in a former life " But the Rájá rejoined : " This you must do : it will fall to you to bring the history down to my death."

In accordance with the intention he had already announced, a lakheraji sunnud conferring the Panchgram land on me was drawn up and delivered to me, signed in Persian and Bengali by the Rájá with his own hand, and sealed with his name. This book down to this 18th chapter, was delivered to the Mahárájá Harendra Náráin.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Rájá adopts ascetic habits and sets out on a pilgrimage to Benares.

The events following the last chapter down to the death of the Mahárájá will be recorded in the following chapters. The Rájá having established an

image of Anandamayi Kālī, guaranty of the prosperity of the people, relinquished all worldly amusements, and gradually became more and more free from the influence of the passions. His ascetic habits so grew upon him, that he was constantly absorbed in the contemplation of Mahādev, and his eyes were ever filled with tears of joy as he listened to the songs in praise of the greatness of Benares, sung night and day by the different classes of ascetics, the Nirásramis (homeless,) the Niranjalis (mendicants, but never asking for alms,) the Nirbānis (refusing to speak), the Dandis (carrying a religious staff,) and the Sunyāsīs (men who have renounced the world.) Indeed, the body which used formerly to be adorned with garlands of sweet-smelling flowers, and anointed with fragrant oils, was now besmeared with ashes. The body which had always been adorned with glistening pearls and necklaces &c. of precious stones, now showed only a necklace of the *rudrākhyā*.* Where formerly, his ministers sat by his side, there naked ascetics had their seats. Matters went on in this way for some time when the Rājā appointed a day on which he intended to set out on a pilgrimage, and desired his principal ministers, the Dewan Kali Chandra Lāhīri, and Shib Prasād Bakshi to make all necessary preparations. Accordingly, they did as they had been desired. The Rājā then addressed a letter to the Agent at Gowhattī with a view to secure the permission of the Governor-General to his being accompanied by a guard on his journey. Boats of

* The hard dark nut of the *Elæcarpus Ganittus*.

all kinds, pinnaces, budgerows, *lál-dinghis*, *pulwárs*, *páthélis*, *ooláks*, *pansways*, and *bhowliahs*, were collected from all parts of the country, and all things necessary for the journey were put on board. The people that were to accompany the *Rájá* also had their places on board. Suitable places were likewise found in these boats to represent the *nāhabatkháná*, or place set apart for musical instruments, the *gharikháná*, or place set apart for time-pieces, the *topkháná*, or place for guns, the *faráshkháná*, or room where carpets, &c., are kept, the *toshákháná* or wardrobe, and the *sowáhir* and *surgurkháná*, or room where the precious stones and jewellery are kept. Of the *sepoys*, *burkundazes*, *pulwáns*, *tirandazes*, or men armed with bows and arrows, *golundazes* or gunners, *orderlies*, cavalry soldiers, *ásáburdars*, or mace-bearers, *sontáburdars* or club-bearers, *chobdars*, also a sort of mace-bearers, men armed with javelins, *spear-men*, &c., some were appointed to accompany the *Rájá*, and others were required to remain at the capital. Eighteen different kinds of servants also accompanied the *Rájá*; *viz.* water-carriers, performers on various instruments, chair-carriers, torch-bearers, sword-bearers, mace-bearers, flag-bearers, weavers, &c. Besides these, there went with him Brahman Pandits, logicians, grammarians, readers of the *Puráns*, expounders of the *Smriti Shashtra*, and astrologers. These had separate boats assigned to them. Moreover, preparations were made to convey the idol *Madan Mohun Thákur*; and the professional singers who used to be engaged in singing the praises of the image of *Bhowání* established by the *Rájá* as well

as certain dancing-women and dancing-boys got permission to accompany the royal party. Certain of the king's ministers got ready to go in order that they might be present to give attention to his wishes. There furthermore went with the king his sons the Bara Saheb, the Chhota Saheb and Jogendra Naráin Konwar. Finally, all matters relating to public affairs having been arranged for, Bajendra Naráin Konwar was appointed Rájgi Superintendent. The work of the Court had all along been conducted by the Bara Saheb. But now that the Rájá was about to leave, to the said Saheb was committed the duty of the Criminal Sessions. But it was the Rájá's determination that the arrangements placing these two Sahebs in charge of the business of the State, should be submitted for the approval of the Council. After the Rájá had left, these arrangements came into operation.

CHAPTER XX.

The Maharaja sets out on his pilgrimage to Benares. The stages of his journey described. He dies shortly after his arrival at the holy city.

In the year 326 Rájshaká, or 1242 B. E., on the 24th of Magh, the Máharájá turning away without even a parting glance from all the pomp of greatness, forsook all earthly concerns like Ram Chandra when the latter ascended to heaven, and set out on his journey to Benares. He was accompanied by the Bara Máharáni, the Ai who had returned from Benares, the

Ai Nágeswari, and other Devatis with their attendants and servants. All the people of Behar as well as of the palace set up a weeping which sounded like the noise of a tempest. With the Rájá there departed all the gladness and courage of the people of Behar. The fleet of boats lay moored in the Eláján river in the kharija talook Ráshidángá, near Baraibari, on the south of the city. Erecting sheds along the bank, where the party might find shelter, the Rájá ordered all the goods and property required for the journey to be put on board, and required the boats to follow one another in an appointed order. After having been at the river-side for eight days, the Rájá entered his boat in the midst of much show and parade, the royal ensign was hoisted, and the drums as is customary on such occasions, were beaten, and the boats were unmoored. Various instruments gave forth their music. The sepoys began to play on their lutes and pipes and drums and bugles in their respective quarters, and the moment the boats set out, a salute was fired from English guns. Having thus entered on their journey, they stopped now and again at various places when the boat known as the *farásh-khána*, went ahead with a view to the erection of the tents, &c. Whenever it was necessary, the boats delayed for two or four days at different places. Whilst the fleet was moving on, royal councils used to be held when the king's ministers consulted together, and received orders in connexion with their several departments. Nor were the singing and music intended for the royal entertainment, or the

other observances that had been customary at the palace, relaxed at all during the journey. The same amusements that the Rájá had when at Behar, he had provided for himself at every place he arrived at. He always worshipped the god Bisheswar. Thus, by easy stages, the party arrived at the Melar Chur near Chilmari on the Berhampooter in the month of Cheyt. Here they remained for some days.

The king then instructed the prince and Bajendra Naráin Konwar to go to the Rájdháni, and they accordingly came to Behar, accompanied by their courtiers and officers, and began to attend to business with the greatest order. The subjects thereby became happy, and they and the officers did not feel that the Maharájá had left the kingdom and gone on pilgrimage. Jogendro Naráin Konwar accompanied the king to Benares. In that place the king bathed in the river on the ashokáshtami, and gave alms to the poor. Afterwards the party left that place, and going by easy stages towards the south, arrived at Serajgunge. The king then ordered Dewan Káli Chandra Láhiri, Dewan Ram Chandra Láhiri, Shib Prasád Bakshi and others to accompany him; and Ishan Chunder Mustafi, son of the old minister, being a trustworthy person, was entrusted with the management of several matters of administration subject to the control of both the princes and was permitted to go to the Rajdhani with various descriptions of seals to be made over to the surbura-kar. Here Puddolochan Babu and several others were permitted to return to the Rajdhani.

The party lived at Serajgunge for some days, and taking sufficient provisions, they came by the Hoorasagur to Borral, and leaving Rampoorá reached Kasarhatpookharia. Here the Raja bathed in the Bhagirutty, gave charities on a large scale, and seeing the place very beautiful, remained for some days. The ministers seeing the strong current of the Ganges did not advise leaving the place during the rainy season, and accordingly he remained on through the whole of the rainy season, and gave large charities. Here the estates of several Brahmans were put up for sale for non-payment of arrears of revenue, and the king spoke to the Sahebs, gave large sums of money to the Brahmans, and thus saved their estates. To record the several good acts of the king in various places would only enlarge the book. In the autumn the king went to Janghipore, raised a magnificent building and celebrated the Sharodia Poojah with the greatest pomp and in the mode which prevails in Behar. Here the king ordered Dowán Kali Chandra Láhiri to return to the Rájdhani, and Kasi Kant Láhiri, having obtained an officiating appointment in the Civil Court, also came back to the Rájdhani. At the commencement of the cold season, the king accompanied by Dewán Rám Chandra Láhiri, Shib Prasád Bakshi and others started towards the west. Wherever the king went, he was received by the authorities with every respect suited to his dignity; Brahmans, Pundits, religious mendicants and beggars from various places came to him and were glad to receive large gifts, and some even accompanied

him to Benares. In this way the party passed through Bhaugulpore, Monghyr, Patna, Chapra, and Gazipore, and on the 28th Assar, 1244, reached the Anandkanun, the residence of the all-powerful Troilokeswar Kīrtibas, opposite the Manikarnikā Ghát. Having done all that was required in visiting a holy place, the party landed. A large house belonging to Amrit Ráo, the Rájá of the place, was fixed as the Mahárájá's residence. The king's men were sent on and the bytukhánás of the inner and outer apartments of the house were nicely furnished. The king entered into that house at an auspicious time and resided there. The bytukháná rooms in the inner and outer apartments were settled. Dewán Rám Chándra Láhiri, Shib Prasád Bakshi and others took up their respective lodgings in the house and daily attended the Rájá. The king then bathed in the Manikarniká according to practice, and paying a visit to the god Bis-heswar, the goddess Annapurná and other deities, offered them poojá with great pomp and visited several temples and holy places in the Holy City. He gave large charities every day to beggars, Brahmans, Pundits and religious mendicants, and the gods and goddesses were worshipped in different places. The king thus pleasantly passed his days in Benares in religious conversation. At this time Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, arrived at Benares in course of his tour through the North-Western Provinces. Dewán Rám Chandra Láhiri went on behalf of the king and obtained a seat in the same line with the other

Rájás of Hindostan. He was presented with a khelat, was asked about the Mahárájá's welfare, and dismissed with the greatest respect being paid to him. The Mahárájá being desirous to establish his renown, purchased a magnificent building with land attached thereto in mahulla Sonapore, erected a large temple for the accommodation of a *Shiva-linga* and raised a stupendous building and laid out beautiful gardens, &c., for the *Adyasakti* and for the feeding of mendicants; but immediately before the completion of these works, the king's soul departed from his perishable body, as will be afterwards described.

CHAPTER XXI.

How public affairs were conducted at the capital in the absence of the Maharájá.

The events which took place in the Rájdháni after the king left it for Benares are here narrated. The management of all the affairs of the State was entrusted to the Bara Sahib and to Bajendro Náráin Konwar, and they differed in their opinions. Though the officers of the State, *viz.*, Ishan Chandra Mustafi, Gúrú Churn Rái, Kasi Kant Lálhri, Puddolochan Rái, and the Dewán, were not in the Rájdháni, yet the author of this narrative and all the others acted unanimously, and no prejudice was done to the affairs of the State. But the Bara Sahib by his skill in business dis-

charged the affairs of the State in a satisfactory manner, and frequently received orders from the king in respect of several matters. The younger prince was rather fond of pleasure, and he did not attend to business with the same assiduity. At this time in the month of Magh, 1243, Mr. Francis Jenkins, the Agent of the Governor-General, came to Cooch Behar to investigate its affairs. The necessary exchange of courtesies being over, the Bara and Chota Sahebs went over to his tent in order briefly to explain the papers connected with the revenue and the administration of justice, civil and criminal. The Agent having found fault with certain matters, I and Káli Churn Láhiri tried to explain them as well as we could. He then started for Gowhatti, having enquired into the cases pending in some of the Courts, and empowered the two princes to dispose of the applications which had come up before him during his brief stay. The two princes did the work entrusted to them most satisfactorily, sent notice thereof to the Agent, and were thanked by him for the efficient manner in which they had discharged their duties. Gradually the Bara Saheb by his unflinching determination, ceaseless activity, magnanimity of disposition and other uncommon qualities won over the courtiers of the king and all officers in the kingdom, and took the entire management of affairs into his own hands.

CHAPTER XXII.

*The death and funeral ceremonies of Maharájá
Harendra Náráin.*

All creatures in this world must die, and it was now the turn of the Maharájá to suffer the common fate. Having spent a large sum of money in acts of charity and virtue, our Maharájá retaining the full possession of his senses up to the very time of death, breathed his last in the holy city of Benares before noon on the 16th day of Jeyt, 1246. The funeral ceremony was performed in the most magnificent style by Jogendro Náráin Konwar, Dewan Ramchandra Lahiri and Sibprasad Bakshi. The dead body of the Maharájá Harendra Náráin being covered with shawls and other valuable clothes, was placed on a rich sofa and conducted to the famous *Manikarnika* ghat with great eclát attended by a most gorgeous procession consisting of elephants, horses, sepoy and persons carrying flags and other ensigns of royalty, amid the sound of drums and other musical instruments, while the people of Benares showered down garlands of flowers and bela leaves from both sides of the street. A small piece of land at the *Manikarnika* ghat was purchased for the occasion, and the dead body of the Maharájá was burnt to ashes by means of sandal wood, clarified butter, aromatic gums and other fragrant oils. People may suppose my narrative of this sovereign very exaggerated ; but if they would

only take into consideration his great deeds while alive, which were almost superhuman, the manner of his death in the holy city of Benares and his absorption into the essence of *Siva* after death, they must admit that my picture is not overdrawn. It may be safely said, that Maharájá Harendra Narain was not in any way inferior to Ram Chandra and Judhistir of olden time.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The death of Jaieswari the widow of the Dewan Jibendra Narain.

I will now briefly describe the events that were transpiring in the meantime in the capital of Cooch Behar. Dewan Jibendra Narain had two wives, Jibeswari and Jaieswari. The former being now dead, the latter was consequently in the sole enjoyment of all the properties of her husband, both movable and immovable. Jaieswari breathed her last at about 2 o'clock in the morning in the month of Kartick, 1215. As soon as I received the intelligence of her death, I hastened to the eldest Raj Kumar who, on being informed of this sad event, immediately accompanied me to the residence of the late Dewan, and ordered the funeral ceremonies of the deceased to be performed in due form. At dawn of day the Raj Kumar summoned Guruprasad, Ram Sunder Rai and other officers of the late Dewan, and in their presence ordered me to

prepare a list of all his properties and seize them, and this was accordingly done notwithstanding the objections made by the said officers. The monies that had been deposited with *mahajans* and his Government promissory notes were taken possession of, and a Sujawal was appointed to collect the revenues of the lands of Gird Patsora &c., being one ahna of the rajgee that had been in his possession. Notice of what had been done and of the fact of the late Dewan having no heirs was sent to the Mahárájá and through the Joobraj to the Agent. Another sad event happened about this time, namely, the death of Bara Ai Devati who was very old and reduced by illness. The eldest son of the king remained near him and took every care of him. The Bara Sahab observed mourning for one month according to the Shastras and performed her *sradh* with great eclát, and, as formerly, continued to administer the affairs of the kingdom with skill and ability.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Tidings reach Cooch Behar of the serious illness of the Maharaja. Arrangements made for the installation of the Bara Sahab.

On the morning of the 29th of of Jeyt, 1246, while I was sitting with the tehsildar Kali Sankar Bhaduri in his room, a letter from Benares addressed jointly to Ishan Chandra Mustafi, Guru Charan Rai, Kali Bha-

duri and the author of this narrative was handed to me by the post office peon. On opening the letter and going through its contents, I was thunder-struck as it contained the mournful intelligence of the dying state of Maharaja Harendra Narain. It was signed by Dewan Ram Chandra Lahiri, Sibprasad Bakshi, and all the brahmans and physicians who had accompanied him. I then took the tehsildar aside and communicated to him the sad tidings. A letter was also sent to Dewan Kali Charan Lahiri who was sick and at home informing him of what had happened. I, Ishan Chandra Mustafi who was then acting Ahilkar, and some others met together to discuss who should succeed the Maharájá. Having regard to the fact that the Bara Saheb had reached the status of Joobraj, that he had been favourably reported to Government by Mr. Macleod and Mr. Scott, and that the present Agent had also testified to his ability and aptitude for business, and having further regard to the *kulachar* in the *raj* family, we unanimously decided that though Maharájá Harendra Narain had left four other sons, and the Chota Saheb had been hoping to obtain the throne, still the Bara Saheb being better able to conduct the administration and care for the welfare of his subjects was the proper person to be placed on the throne about to fall vacant. At about 10 o'clock we hastened to the quarters of the Bara Saheb who was then washing his face and hands. On being informed of our presence he immediately came out to know the reason of our appearance at such an unusual hour, and was at once overpowered with grief when we read

to him the letter from Benares. Being asked to state our views with regard to the nature of the Mahárájá's sickness, we told him that in our opinion the god Bisheswar would fulfil the long-cherished desire of the Mahárájá to die in the holy city of Benares. No letter could be expected from Benares on the following day, but certainly one was to be expected on the day after. However, it was our unanimous wish that the Bara Sahab should be raised to the vacant throne, inasmuch as there could be no doubt that what was to take place had already taken place. We were then ordered to make all necessary preparations for the coronation ceremony, and give information to the Chota Sahab and to ask him to go over to the *rajbari* the next morning; and we were further ordered to attend there in the afternoon. When the news was communicated to the Chota Sahab he was greatly grieved; but with reference to the installation of the Bara Sahab he only said, "Let further news come from Benares;" and he continued to give the same evasive answer to everything that we urged on that behalf. We went over to the *rajbari*, as previously arranged, and informed the Bara Sahab of all that had passed with his younger brother. Meanwhile on the 30th of Jeyt, the eldest Raj Kumar removed his quarters to the new building that had been erected for him. My opinion being asked as to what should be done, I told him what I thought best, and it was decided that the coronation ceremony should take place on the receipt of further news from Benares. We again called at the residence of the Chota Sahab and found that surrounded as he was by evil coun-

sellors, he was not disposed to come to any amicable settlement. We then had a talk about the matter with Apsoran Sepoy and the Resala Jemadar, who approved of our plan. Our feelings at this juncture were composed of a strange medley of grief, joy and fear ; grief owing to the lamented death of Mahárāja Harendra Narain ; joy on account of the approaching coronation ceremony of the eldest Raj Kumar, and fear lest the scene of blood that had invariably attended every change of sovereigns in Cooch Behar should be once more repeated.

CHAPTER XXV.

News arrives of the death of Harendra Narain. Sibendro Narain is installed as Raja.

On Thursday morning, the 30th of Jeyt, 1246, corresponding to 330 Rajshaká, while preparations were being made for the coronation ceremony of the eldest Raj Kumar, a letter from Benares written on a piece of blue paper conveyed the mournful intelligence of the Mahárāja Harendra Narain's death. The letter being handed over to the Raj Kumar, he remained silent for some time, weighed down with grief, but afterwards consoled himself with the thought that such was the inexorable law of nature. He then bathed and the coronation ceremony was commenced according to the formalities observed on such occasions in the Raja's family. The troops were ranged in due order in

different places and the palace was filled to overflowing with crowds of people. Guru Charan Roy and I were then ordered to proceed to the residence of the Chota Saheb, and to escort him to the palace, should he be inclined to come over. We had scarcely gone as far as the Sāgardighi, when we saw the Chota Saheb advancing towards us in a palankeen attended by five or seven persons, and on our near approach we were asked what was going on. We submitted that all necessary preparations for the coronation ceremony were being made. He then said that if that was the case, what was the good of his going there. We however, assured him that he had no reason for apprehensions of any kind. But influenced as he was by evil advisers, he chose to proceed in a different direction from the one where preparations for the installation were going on. Meantime the eldest Raj Kumar arrayed in the royal robes seated himself on the royal Guddi with all the insignia of royalty at about mid-day, in conformity with the custom of the Raj family. The royal umbrella was opened over his head and the white *chamar* was being waved on either side. The pundits began to chaunt aloud hymns from the Vedas, while the *nahabat* was sounding and the cannon sending forth peals of thunder, there being no end to the music, dancing and all sorts of merriment. This was followed by grants of lands to the idol Madan Mohan and to priests and other brahmanas under the seal of the Maharaja Sibendra Narain, the particulars whereof were entered in the record by Ishan Chandra Mustafi. The brahmanas took their

seats on the left side ; and of the officers, Ishan Chandra Mustafi, Guru Charan Rai, Kasi Kant Lahiri, Kali Sunker Bhaduri and I, the writer, took our seats on the right. Presents in gold and silver poured in profusely. The pooja of the idols was ordered to be performed with great magnificence. Large sums of money were distributed ' in charity to brahmans and beggars. The Raj Kumar then sought the benediction of brahmans to enable him to govern his subjects with tranquillity and happiness, and the officers were asked to assist him in the arduous task of administration. The people were so pleased with the sweet words of their ruler that they were loud in his praise and forgot for the moment the loss of their much esteemed Maharaja Harendra Narain. Thus the ceremony of coronation came to an end.

CHAPTER XXVI.

News of the installation of the Maharaja Sibendra Narain is sent to the Samachar Darpan, to the Governor-General in Calcutta, &c.

Maharaja Sibendra Narain knowing that I was an old servant of the Raj family, had great confidence in me, and used to ask my advice with regard to several affairs of State. One day he ordered me, that as I had written the history of the reigns of my predecessors, so I should continue to narrate the events of his reign. He further ordered me to publish in the

newspapers an account of his installation if I thought proper, and accordingly I sent a brief account of the coronation ceremony to the *Samachar Darpan* at Serampore. I also continued to narrate the events of this reign as they transpired. After the installation of the eldest Raj Kumar, his mother got the title of *Kanta Ai Devati*. Dewan Kali Charan Lahiri who was absent owing to sickness at the time of the coronation, came to the capital shortly after at the request of the sovereign, and was greeted with due honors and profuse rewards, and ordered to look after the affairs of the kingdom as he used to do before. News of the coronation of Mahárájá Sibendra Narain were sent to the Governor-General in Calcutta and to the Agent at Gowhatti, who expressed great satisfaction at the event. Letters to that effect were also despatched to the Debraja and the Rajas of Baikantpore and Panga and other places, and acknowledgments were received along with presents as tokens of honour and friendship. On the day of the coronation, Mahárájá Sibendra Narain did not take his seat on the throne, as he was then in a state of impurity owing to the death of his father; but after the expiration of one month, he performed the *sradh* ceremony with great eclát, and formally took his seat on the throne on the auspicious day of the Punnyaha in 1246. On that day, the several officers of the kingdom gave presents to the sovereign according to their rank, and each of them received rewards as he deserved, consisting of shawls, elephants, horses, &c. On the Dewan Kali Chandra Lahiri was conferred a *khelat* and other distinctions, and after much music

and dancing, the King retired to the inner apartments.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The establishment of the Dharma Sabha : changes in the personnel of the administration.

After his installation, Mahārājā Sibendra Narain directed special attention to the condition of his subjects, and sought the advice of Dewan Kali Bhaduri and Ishan Chandra Mustafi as to the best means of putting a stop to certain oppressive practices that had grown up. Agreeably to their advice, a society was instituted under the name of *Dharma Sabha*, the object of which was to discuss the affairs of the kingdom. Within a short time certain oppressive taxes, such as *bankar* &c., were abolished, many new rules were framed with regard to the collection of revenue and the administration of justice, civil and criminal. The Mahārājā never allowed himself to remain unoccupied and without some sort of excitement. A portion of his time was devoted to the discussion of affairs of State with his ministers, another was set apart for discussions upon religious topics with pandits, and the rest he passed in attending to *nautches*, music and other amusements. The palace, which was in a dilapidated state owing to the absence of the late Mahārājā at Benares, was thoroughly repaired, and new apartments were added both inside and outside. Thus the *rajbari* became more beautiful than ever.

* Maintenance money was regularly paid to the Mahárája's mother, his brothers and his step-mother, and allowances were increased in those cases in which it was found necessary to do so. The pay and rank of the old officers were increased according to their merit, so that within a short time they forgot the loss of the late Mahárája. Ishan Chandra Mustafi became the particular favourite of the Mahárája, and his advice was often sought as to many affairs of State. Shortly after his coronation, the Mahárája with the consent of the Agent made a present of one thousand gold and one thousand silver coins bearing his name to the several temples in his estate, and sent some to Sahebs and others for inspection. It has been said before that previous to his installation, he was in charge of the administration of Courts of Justice. He now made over the Sessions business to Kali Chandra Lahiri, and the rest to Mahendra Narain Konwar, both of whom discharged their new duties most satisfactorily. Of all his brothers, Konwar Mahendra Narain was most attached to the Mahárája and therefore received a liberal share of his favours. About this time, two Courts were instituted, those of Naib Athilkar and Sudder Ameen, for the purpose of deciding civil and criminal cases, and here justice was distributed most impartially. The rich and the powerful could not oppress the poor and the weak. Thus in the reign of the Maharaja Sibendra Narain, all people were happy. At the time of the Doorga-pooja in 1246, rich *khelats* were given to Mahendra Narain Konwar and Ishan Chandra Mustafi. Gopal Mohun Mozoomdar who was the serishtadar in the Sessions Court pre-

vious to the Maharaja's accession was appointed Ahilkar. He gradually secured the Mahārāja's confidence and began to interfere in many State affairs. But as he was only careful of his own interests, great irregularities ensued. After the death of the late Mahārāja, Jogendra Narain Saheb had, with the permission of the Agent at Benares, taken possession of all his property. But through the assistance of the Agent at Gowhatti the articles were recovered and Tara Mohan Bakshi came down from Benares to Cooch Behar with some of the articles and obtained his former appointment as mokhtar. It has been already related that the lands of Gird Patsora had been placed under attachment. But now they were formally taken possession of by order of Government and provision was made for the maintenance of the female members of Jibendra Narain's family.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Maharaja's marriage.

In the year 1247 corresponding to 331 Rajshaká, Mahārāja Sibendra Narain established a Court of Justice for the final adjudication of revenue, civil and criminal suits, and Dewan Kali Chandra Lahiri and Ishan Chandra Mustafi were made Judges of the Court. Now and then the Mahārāja used to sit in this Court to hear difficult cases, which he decided with the assistance of the above-named officers and learned

pundits. In this year the Bara Rajrani, Nakeswari, Jogendra Narain Konwar, and others, came down from Benares to Cooch Behar, and took up their residence in apartments erected for them to the north of the *Rajbari* and there passed their days. It has been related before that some of the articles belonging to the late Mahārājā had been brought from Benares by Tara Mohan Bakshi : the rest were brought this year by Sib Prasad Bakshi immediately before the Doorga-pooja. Sib Prasad Bakshi was restored to the same post which he had held in the previous reign. Thus Mahārājā Sibendra Narain having availed himself of the services of all his father's ministers whom he treated with great respect, began to administer the affairs of the kingdom with happiness and tranquillity. In the month of Assin, Ram Chandra Lahiri met with an untimely death at a time when Kali Chandra Lahiri was absent in his native place.

The people of Cooch Behar were deeply affected with sorrow at this mournful event. The Mahārājā could hardly get another man possessed of so many inestimable qualities, and so he was extremely sorry to lose his services.

The day of the *Doljatra* was fixed for the celebration of the marriage of our Mahārājā. Orders were issued to me, Ishan Chandra Mustafi and Kali Chandra Lahiri to make all necessary preparations. Valuable ornaments, and rich dresses were brought from Calcutta, Moorshedabad, Dacca, Benares and other places. Musicians of various kinds and dancing women arrived from several quarters. Sweetmeats

of the best sorts were prepared for the occasion. Halls were splendidly fitted up with chandeliers, lanterns and pictures. Letters of invitation were sent to several Rajas and English gentlemen. A few days before the marriage ceremony was to take place, Mr. Jenkins, the Agent at Gowhatti, came to Cooch Behar to pay a visit to the Mahárájá, and having exchanged courtesies with him in the palace repaired to his tent. Our Mahárájá too went over to the tent of the Agent to pay him his respects, and having done so, returned to the *Rajbari*. The Agent then advised our Mahárájá to establish a Court by means of which he might every now and then superintend the proceedings of the revenue, civil and criminal Courts, and see that every thing went right; but he was told in reply that such a Court had already been instituted. The Mahárájá pressed the Agent to remain till the marriage ceremony was over; but as the Agent had other important matters to attend to, he could not comply with the Mahárájá's wish, and so started for Gowhatti.

On the 27th of Falgoun, 1247, the day of the *Doljatra*, the nuptial ceremony took place with the daughter of Bajradhar Karji of Chapgur and the daughter of Brojendra Narain Chowdhry of Parbbat-Joar. The name given to the Chapgur Ai was Sri Sri Dángar Ai Devati, and the name given to the Ai from Parbbat-Joar was Sri Sri Bara Ai Devati. The Mahárájá graced the durbar with his royal presence on the marriage night, and having attended to the *nautches* and music for a short time, and liberally rewarded the musicians and dancing parties, repaired to the inner

apartment, and in his absence Dewan Kali Chandra Lahiri, Sib Prasad Bakshi, Ishan Chandra Mustafi and others presided at the festive assembly. Music, dancing and several kinds of amusements went on in several parts of the *Rajbari*. Fireworks of various sorts prepared by the people of Dinagepore who had flocked in numbers to witness the marriage ceremony produced a splendid illumination. There were mirth and festivity in the houses of all whether rich or poor. Large sums of money were spent in charity to people who had come from different places, and handsome rewards were given to all officers and servants without exception according to their rank and merit. Thus the nuptial festivities came to an end.

CHAPTER XXIX.

The Maharaja establishes a Dharma-sala. Having no male issue, he adopts a son.

In the year 1248 corresponding to 332 Rajshaká, the Mahárájá erected a building for the entertainment of religious mendicants, known as the *Dharma-sala*. Food and shelter were provided for all mendicants who sought for them, and here they might remain as long as they desired and obtain any kind of food that they wanted. In the same year a large tank was excavated, on which occasion handsome rewards were given to pundits according to their learning, and large sums of

money were spent in charity to the poor. Our Mahá-rájá possessed this remarkable quality, that he never disappointed any one. His attention was equally directed to every thing, whether it was the management of domestic affairs, or the administration of the affairs of his kingdom or the performance of religious ceremonies such as *paruscharan*. In this year the rainfall having been unusually great, the whole city was inundated, and this caused the death of many human beings and of a large number of cattle. The Mahá-rájá not having been blessed with any male issue up to this time, was always unhappy. He, therefore, with the advice of his minister adopted a son: the boy was named Karindra Narain Konwar, and was the son of Sumbhoo Narain Konwar of Bolorampore, about 8 or 9 years of age, and extremely handsome. Education was given him in Bengali and Persian. Nevertheless, the Mahá-rájá did not cease to regret that he had no son begotten of his own loins; but he was resigned to the will of the gods.

About this time, Baboo Pratap Singh, a rich merchant of Moorshedabad, came to Cooch Behar to visit the Mahá-rájá and gave him many valuable articles as *nuzzur*. The Mahá-rájá too treated him with the respect due to his position and wealth, and gave him handsome rewards. Gopál Chandra Mozoomdar, of whom mention has been made, gradually grew more and more meddlesome, and became such a favourite with our sovereign, that in almost everything his advice was followed, and this alienated all the principal officers, who ceased to take that active interest in their business which

they had taken before, and great irregularities in consequence ensued.

CHAPTER XXX.

Changes in the administration. The temples are renewed.

In the year 1249, corresponding with 333, Rajshaká, certain changes took place in the administrative staff which are narrated below. Dewán Káli Chandra Lahiri signified his intention to retire, and requested the Mahárájá to confer his title and post on his son Káli Krishna Lahiri. The Mahárájá complied with his request substantially, only making over the Sessions business of which he was in charge to the Chota Sahib; but this too was done with his consent. Babu Kasi Kant Lahiri who had been officiating in charge of the Civil Courts, was permanently appointed to that post. Guru Babu with whom the Mahárájá had been displeased owing to some fault of his, but chiefly at the instigation of Gopál Mohun Mozoomdar, was removed from his service, and the Criminal Courts were made over to Gopál Mohun Mozoomdar. He took up the current duties of the Khangí and attended to the revenue collections. Thus many of the officials were changed, but each man addressed himself to the duties to which he was appointed. Before the Doorga Pooja of that year, the Raja conferred on the Dewán Káli Krishna Lahiri the right to have mace-bearers, to

have a drum beaten before him, and to carry an ensign. Day by day, Gopál Mohun Mozoomdar's influence over the Mahárájá increased, and being in charge of criminal business he began to do many things which were illegal. Petitions against him poured in to the Agent at Gowhatti, but enjoying as he did the full sunshine of the royal favour, not a hair of his head was touched ; but on the other hand his influence and authority continued to increase. As there were certain irregularities in connection with fiscal matters, and the Dewán Káli Chandra Lahiri was away at his own home, Dewán Káli Krishna Lahiri was ordered to look after them and accordingly he had his residence in the capital. The post of Serishtadar whenever the Rájá held a Council or a Court was conferred on me, and on the day following, I the author of this history, took up my duties, and was present to record the orders passed by the Rájá in Council. In this year the temple of Siva which had been commenced by the former Mahárájá in Dholia but left unfinished, was taken up by the Mahárájá and completed, and the image of Siddhanath was put in there after proper ceremonies and provision made for its daily poojah. All temples in front of the Rajbari that were *kichas* were demolished, and in their stead *pucca* ones were erected, ample provision being made for the daily poojahs and the observance of other religious rites and the reading of the Purans. Thus the Mahárájá renewed everything in the kingdom, and the heavy debts in connection with the chucklas and Nij Behar, were paid off.

In this year notice of the glorious termination of the Kabul campaign was sent to our Mahārājā by the Agent at Gowhatti by order of Lord Auckland, the then Governor-General of India, and according to custom the event was celebrated by the firing of cannon.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Complaints against Gopal Mohun Mozoomdar. The Principal Assistant of the Agent at Gowhatti visits Cooch Behar.

In the year 1250, corresponding to 334 Rajshakā, there was hardly any change of officers. All held their respective appointments and did their work properly. Petition after petition against Gopāl Mohun Mozoomdar complaining of the oppression practised by him on the subjects went up to the Agent at Gowhatti, some of which were sent back to the Mahārājā for enquiry. I was appointed to conduct the investigation, which I was obliged to do in obedience to royal order. The inquiry ended in nothing, for instead of the real offender being punished, the enemies of Gopāl Mohun Mozoomdar were brought to punishment. After the lapse of some months, the Agent sent his principal assistant Mr. Mackay to Cooch Behar in the month of Magh of this year to look into its affairs. The Dewān Kāli Krishna Bhaduri and the writer went to meet him at Bolorampore. The Sahob

after asking after the health of the Mahārājā, came on to the capital. The Dewán Káli Krishna Lahiri, who was at home at the time, also arrived. The necessary exchange of courtesies being over, papers connected with all departments were shown and explained to the assistant who took brief notes of them and started for Gowhatti, having expressed great dissatisfaction at the conduct of Gopál Mohun Mozoomdar who, however, escaped scot free this time also through royal favour. In the month of Falgoon certain embezzlements made by the tehsildār having been discovered, he was summoned to appear, but he absconded and Káli Krishna Lahiri was appointed in his place. Towards the end of this year, Lord Auckland made a present of two cannons of a new sort to the Mahārājā, who was extremely delighted to receive them, and dispatched a letter of thanks. About this time Rajkumar Karindra Narain Kachhua suddenly breathed his last, and this mournful event at once overpowered the Mahārājā with sorrow. The ministers tried their best to console him, but he was not to be consoled; for in addition to this cause of sorrow, there was another which always disturbed the peace of his mind, viz., that though sufficiently advanced in years he had not yet been blessed with any offspring.

CHAPTER XXXII.

*Description of the Mahárájá. Death of his adopted son.
Adoption of Narendra Narain Kumar.*

In the year 1251, corresponding to 335 Rajshaká, the affairs of the kingdom went on as smoothly as before. The revenue affairs with which Káli Krishna Lahiri was entrusted were made over at the Punnyaha of that year to the second prince. I continued to discharge the duties of tehsildar. Gopál Mohun Mozoomdar's influence over the Mahárájá continued as before. The Mahárájá had his eye upon everything that was going on in the kingdom, so that no one could exercise oppression and do anything wrong. His administration and ability were superior to those of any of his predecessors. He possessed long arms, a deep chest, large eyes, a broad forehead, a smiling face, fascinating wit which endeared him to the softer sex, and polite manners. He was a complete master of his passions, devoted to gods and Brahmans, liberal, truthful, of serious disposition, a friend to the virtuous, and a terrible enemy to the wicked. The Mahárájá was a model sovereign whose numerous inestimable qualities baffle all attempts at description on the part of a writer like myself.

There was one thing which, as has been said before, proved a constant source of uneasiness to him and his ministers, namely, that he was not yet blessed with issue. In this year Karindra Narain Kumar, the adopt-

ed son of the Mahārājā, died. I, the writer, then suggested to the Mahārājā to adopt one of the sons of the Choṭa Saheb, and he replied that he would think about it, and ultimately, after consulting with Ishan Chanīra Mustafi, Gopāl Mohun Mozoomdar and myself, Chandrendra Narain Kachhua the fourth son of Brajendra Narain Kumar was adopted on the 29th Falgoon of that year. That being an auspicious day, the *putreshthi jāg* having been performed, the son thus adopted was named Narendra Narain Kumar. The Mahārājā was so delighted with the sports and sweet words of this little child that he was no longer unhappy because he had not been blessed with a son.

In the month of Magh, Gopāl Mohun Mozoomdar was suddenly attacked with fever and breathed his last, and this mournful event sorely grieved the Mahārājā. There were several important papers in his custody, of which I and the mokhtar Tara Mohun Bākshi were ordered to make a list to be laid before the Mahārājā, and we did so accordingly. In the month of Magh of the same year, the Agent at Gowhatti came to Cooch Behar and had an interview with the Mahārājā. The Mahārājā was unable from sickness to return the visit, but after a long conversation upon several matters at a second interview, signified to the Agent his intention of retiring to Benares, and obtained his partial consent. Having stayed a day or two, the Agent started for Gowhatti. After the death of Gopāl Mohun Mozoomdar, the second prince was in charge of the criminal business for some days, which was then made over to Kasi Kant Lāhiri, the

ahilkar of the Civil Courts. Thus ended the year 1251.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Mahārājā arranges for a pilgrimage to Benares.

In the year 1252, corresponding to 336 Rajshaká, no important changes took place. Guru Chandra Bábu who, as has been related before, had incurred the displeasure of the Sovereign, gradually got himself re-admitted to the royal confidence, and was entrusted with the care of revenue affairs. Kasi Kant Bábu continued in charge of the criminal business, and the other officers held their respective appointments. At the time of the Doorga-pooja, I applied to the Mahārājā for permission to retire on the ground of old age and infirmity, but was told that he himself would shortly retire to Benares when he would allow me to accompany him to the holy city. I submitted that it was only the other day that the Mahārājā had ascended the throne, and therefore it was not proper that he should think of retiring so soon. But he replied that there was no set time for events, and that circumstances must govern our actions; and that he had made up his mind, and would not change his resolution. The Mahārājā wrote to that effect to the Agent at Gowhatti. In the meantime he began to arrange with his ministers as to who should

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remain in charge of the kingdom, and how its affairs should be conducted.

Having finished 32 chapters, I laid the narrative before the Mahārāja for inspection; but he said that he was very busy then preparing for his journey, and could not peruse it leisurely. I was, however, ordered to continue the work so long as I was alive, the Mahārāja intimating his desire that it should be widely known.

THE END.

